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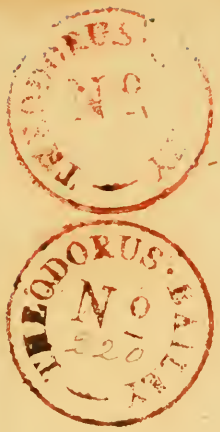
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Presented to

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

The Rev.d Doct.r Mi

1811

MOSES

DEMONSTRATED,

IN NINE BOOKS.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

Warburton

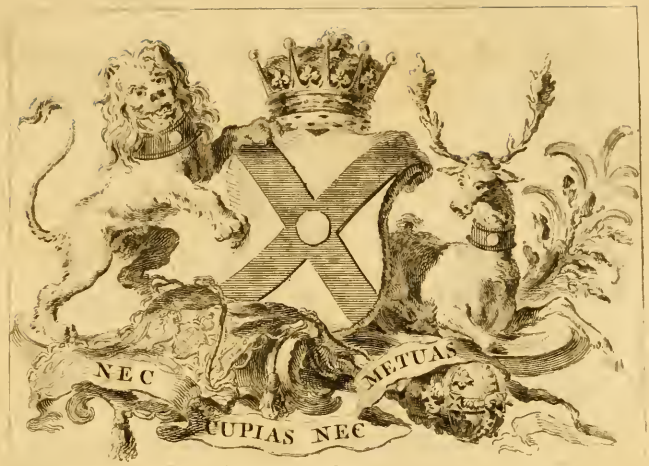
BY

WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.
PSAL.

VOL. I.

LONDON,
Printed for A. MILLAR, and J. and R. TONSON,
in the Strand, MDCCLXV.



TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

PHILIP,

EARL of HARDWICKE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip having ſo far approved of the good intentions of my endeavours for above twenty

years paſt, in the cauſe of RELIGION, as to confer upon me a diſtinguiſhing mark of your favour, I am proud to lay hold of the firſt public opportunity which I have had, of deſiring leave to make my moſt grateful acknowledgments.

I take the liberty to inſcribe to your Lordſhip a new Edition (to which I have put the laſt hand) of a Work tending to ſhew and illuſtrate, by a new Argument, the *Divine Legation of Moſes*; which in our own, as well as former times, the moſt celebrated Champions of Infidelity have cunningly, for their own purpoſes, laboured with all their might, to overthrow.

If I have ſucceeded, or as far as I have ſucceeded, or may hereafter ſucceed, in the further proſecution of this attempt, I ſhall ſtrengthen one foundation of Chriſtianity.

As an Author, I am not ſollicitous for the reputation of any literary performance.

formance. A work given to the World, every reader has a right to cenſure. If it has merit, it will go down to poſterity: If it has none, the ſooner it dies and is forgot the better.

But I am extremely anxious that no good man ſhould miſtake the view with which I write; and therefore cannot help feeling, perhaps too ſenſibly, when it is miſrepreſented.

So far as any cenſure can ſhew that my poor labours are not calculated to promote *Letters* or *Learning*, to advance *Truth*, or, above all, to ſerve the Cauſe of *Religion*, which I profeſs as a Chriſtian and a Member of the Church of *England*, I own, I have miſſed my end; and will be the firſt to join with the cenſure which condemns them.

In the mean time, the firſt Book of this Work, ſuch as it is, is here humbly commended to your Lordſhip's

protection. For to whom does it so properly belong to patronize an Argument shewing the UTILITY of Religion to Society, as to that great Magistrate, Legislator, and Statesman, who is best able to recommend and apply the Subject, by his being convinced of the TRUTH of Religion; and by his giving the most exemplary proof of his belief, in a steddy regard to it's dictates in his life and actions.

It is this which makes me presume on your Lordship's protection, not any thing extraordinary in the Work itself. It is enough for your Lordship to find in those you favour, a real zeal for the interests of Virtue and Religion. The effectual service of those interests depends on so many accidents, respecting both the ability of the Writer and the disposition of the Reader, that your Lordship's humanity and candour, inlarged, and not (as it often happens) dimi-

diminiſhed, by your great knowledge of Mankind, will always diſpoſe You to eſtimate merit by a better rule than the Succeſs.

I am,

My Lord,

With the utmoſt Gratitude,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obliged,

and devoted Servant,

London, Nov. 5, 1754.

W. Warburton.

TO THE

FREE-THINKERS.

GENTLEMEN;

AS the following diſcourſe was written for your uſe, you have the beſt right to this addreſs. I could never approve the cuſtom of dedicating books to men, whoſe profeſſions made them ſtrangers to the ſubject. A diſcourſe on the Ten Predicaments, to a leader of armies, or a ſyſtem of caſuiſtry to a miniſter of ſtate, always appeared to me a high abſurdity.

Another advantage I have in this addreſs, is that I ſhall not lie under any temptations of flattery; which, at this time of day, when every topic of adulation has been exhauſted, will be of equal eaſe and advantage to us both.

Not but I muſt own you have been managed, even by ſome of our Order, with very ſingular complaiſance. Whether it was that they affected the fame of moderation, or the higher ambition of your good word, I know not; but I, who neither love your cauſe, nor fear the abilities that ſupport it, while I pre-

ſerve for you that juſtice and charity which my profeſſion teaches to be due to all, can never be brought to think otherwiſe of you, than as the deſpiſers of the Maſter whom I ſerve, and and as the implacable enemies of that Order, to which I have the honour to belong. And as ſuch, I ſhould be tempted to glory in your cenſures; but would certainly refuſe your commendations.

Indeed, was it my deſign, in the manner of modern dedicators, to look out for powerful protectors, I do not know where I could ſooner find them, than amongſt the gentlemen of your denomination: for nothing, I believe, ſtrikes the ſerious obſerver with more ſurprize, in this age of novelties, than that ſtrange propenſity to infidelity, ſo viſible in men of almoſt every condition; amongſt whom the advocates of Deiſm are received with all the applauſes due to the inventors of the arts of life, or the deliverers of oppreſſed and injured nations. The *glorious liberty of the Goſpel* is forgotten amidſt our clamours againſt church-tyranny; and we ſlight the fruits of the reſtored *Tree of Knowledge*, for the ſake of gathering a few barren leaves from miſgrafted Free-thinking.

But do not miſtake me; here are no inſinuations intended againſt liberty: for, ſurely, whatever be the cauſe of this folly, it would

be

be unjuſt to aſcribe it to the freedom of the preſs, which wiſe men will ever hold one of the moſt precious branches of national liberty. What though it midwifes, as it were, theſe brain-ſick births; yet, at the ſame time that it facilitates the delivery, it lends a forming hand to the miſhapen iſſue: for, as in natural bodies, become diſtorted by ſuffering violence in the conception, or by too long impriſonment in the womb, a free unreſtrained expoſition of the parts may, in time, reſtore them to their natural rectitude; ſo crude and rickety notions, crampt by reſtraint, when permitted to be drawn out and examined, may, by the reduction of the obliquities, and the correction of their virulency, at length acquire ſtrength and proportion.

Nor leſs friendly is this liberty to the generous advocate of religion: for how could ſuch a one, when in earneſt convinced of the ſtrength of evidence in his cauſe, deſire an adverſary whom the laws had before diſarmed; or value a victory, where the magiſtrate muſt triumph with him? Even I, the meaneſt in this controverſy, ſhould have been aſhamed of projecting the defence of the great jewiſh lawgiver, did not I know, that his aſſailants and defenders ſkirmiſhed all under one equal law of liberty. And if my diſſenting in the courſe of this defence, from ſome com-

mon opinions need an apology, I desire it may be thought, that I ventured into this train with greater confidence, to shew, by my not intrenching myself in authorized speculations, that I put myself upon the same footing with you, and would claim no privilege that was not reciprocal.

This liberty then may you long possess; may you know how to use; may you gratefully acknowledge! I say this, because one cannot, without indignation, observe, that amidst the full possession of it, you still continue, with the meanest affectation, to fill your prefaces with repeated clamours against the difficulties and discouragements attending the exercise of Free-thinking: and, in a peculiar strain of modesty and reasoning, make use of this very liberty to persuade the world you still want it. In extolling liberty, we can join with you; in the vanity of pretending to have contributed most to its establishment, we can bear with you; but in the low cunning of pretending still to lie under restraints, we can neither join nor bear with you. There was indeed a time, and that within our own memories, when such complaints were seasonable and meritorious; but, happy for you, gentlemen, you have out-lived it: all the rest is merely sir Martin[a]; it is continuing to fumble

[a] In a comedy of *Dryden's*.

at

at the lute, though the muſic has been long over. For it is not a thing to be diſguiſed, that all we hear from you, on this head, is but an aukward, though envenomed imitation of an original work of one, whoever he was, who appears to have been amongſt the greateſt, and moſt ſucceſsful of your adverſaries. It was publiſhed at an important juncture, under the title of *The difficulties and diſcouragements which attend the ſtudy of the Scripture.* But with all the merit of this beautiful ſatire, it has been its fortune not only to be abuſed by your bad imitations, but to be cenſured by thoſe in whoſe cauſe it was compoſed; I mean the real friends of religion and liberty. An author of note thus expreſſes himſelf: [b] "Nor was this the worſt: men "were not only diſcouraged from ſtudying "and revering the Scriptures by --- but alſo "by being told that this ſtudy was difficult, "fruitleſs, and dangerous; and a public, an "elaborate, an earneſt diſſuaſive from this "ſtudy, for the very reaſons now mentioned, enforced by two well known examples, "and believed from a perſon of great eminence in the church, hath already paſſed often enough through the preſs, to reach "the hands of all the clergymen in Great-"Britain and Ireland: God in his great mer-

[b] *Revelation examined with candour*, in the preface.

" cy forgive the author." Seriouſly it is a ſad caſe! that one well-meaning man ſhould ſo widely miſtake the end and deſign of another, as not to ſee by the turn and caſt of the *Difficulties and diſcouragements*, that it is a thorough irony, addreſſed to ſome hot bigots then in power, to ſhew them what diſmal effects that inquiſitional ſpirit, with which they were poſſeſſed, would have on literature in general, at a time when public liberty looked with a very ſickly face! Not, I ſay, to ſee this, but to believe, on the contrary, that it was really intended as *a public, an elaborate, an earneſt diſſuaſive from the ſtudy of the Scriptures!* But I have ſo charitable an opinion of the great author, for a great author without doubt he was, as to believe that had he foreſeen that the liberty, which animates this fine turned piece of raillery, would have given ſcandal to any good man, he would, for the conſolation of ſuch, have made any reaſonable abatement in the vigour of his wit and argument.

But you, Gentlemen, have a different quarrel with him: you pretend he hath ſince written on the other ſide the queſtion. Now though the word of his accuſers is not apt to go very far with me, yet, I muſt own, I could be eaſily enough brought to believe, that an author of ſuch talents of literature, love of truth, and of his

his country, as this appears to have been, would as freely expoſe the extreme of folly at one end, as at the other; without regarding what party he oppoſed or favoured by it. And it is well known, that at the time this is pretended to have been done, another intereſt being become uppermoſt, ſtrange principles of licence, which tended to ſubvert all order, and deſtroy the very eſſence of a church, ran now in the popular ſtream. What then ſhould hinder a writer, who was of no party but that of truth, to oppoſe this extravagance, as he had done its oppoſite? And if he pleaſed neither bigot nor libertine by his uniformity of conduct, it was becauſe they were ſuch.

How rare, how excellent, how public a bleſſing is ſuch a virtue! which, unawed by that *fatal enemy of ſenſe*, as the poet calls it, the *danger of offending*, dares equally oppoſe itſelf to the different follies of Party-in-extremes.

But to return to our ſubject: The poor thread-bare cant of *want of liberty*, I ſhould hope then you would be, at length, perſuaded to lay aſide; but that I know ſuch inſinuations are amongſt your arts of controverſy; and that ſomething is to be allowed to a weak cauſe, and to a reputation that requires managing. We know what to underſtand by it,

when after a ſucceſsleſs inſult on religion, the reader is intreated to believe that you have a ſtrong reſerve, which only waits the ſetting open the larger door of liberty, yet ſhut againſt you.

Thus, at the very entrance of your works you teach us what we are to expect. But I muſt beg your patience, now I am got thus far, to lay before you your principal abuſes of that liberty indulged to you for better purpoſes; or, to give them the ſofteſt name I can, in an addreſs of this nature, your ARTS OF CONTROVERSY.

By this I ſhall at once practice the charity I have profeſſed, and juſtify the opinion I have paſſed upon you.

Your writers, I ſpeak it, Gentlemen, to your honour, offer your conſiderations to the world, either under the name of petitioners for oppreſſed and injured truth; or of teachers to ignorant and erring man. Theſe ſure are characters that, if any, require ſeriouſneſs and gravity to ſupport them. But ſo great a ſtranger to decorum is man, on his entry on the ſtage of life, that, for the moſt part, like Bays's actor in the Rehearſal, who was at a loſs to know whether he was to be ſerious or merry, melancholy or in love, he runs giddily on, in a mixt and jumbled character; but has, moſt an end, a ſtrong inclination to make

a farce

a farce of it, and mingle buffoonry with the moſt ſerious ſcenes. Hence, even in religious controverſy, while the great cauſe of eternal happineſs is trying; and men and angels, as it were, attending the iſſue of the conflict, we can find room for a merry ſtory; and receive the advocate of infidelity with much welcome [b], if he comes with but a diſpoſition to make us laugh: though he brings the tidings of *death*, and ſcatters round him the poiſon of our *hopes*, yet, like the dying aſſaſſin [c], we can laugh along with the mob, though our own deſpair and agonies conclude the entertainment.

This quality making a writer ſo well received, yours have been tempted to diſpenſe with the ſolemnity of their character; as thinking it of much importance to get the laugh on their ſide. Hence *ridicule* is become their favourite figure of ſpeech; and they have compoſed diſtinct treatiſes to juſtify its uſe, and evince its utility. But to be fair with

[b] Hence Anthony Urceus, ſurnamed Codrus, as vain and impious as any Free-thinker alive, being aſked the reaſon (as we are told by Blanchini, the writer of his life) why he mixed ſo much buffoonry in his works, replied, "That nature had formed mankind in ſuch a manner, as to be moſt taken with buffoons and ſtory-tellers."

[c] Balthazar Gerard, who murthered the Prince of Orange. See his ſtory.

you,

you, it must be owned, that this strange disposition towards unseasonable mirth, drives all parties upon being witty where they can, as being conscious of its powerful operation in controversy: ridicule having from the hands of a skilful disputant, the same effect in barbarous minds, with the new invented darts of Marius [d], that, though so weak as to break in the throw, and pierce no farther than the outside, yet sticking there, they more entangle and incommode the combatant, than those arms, which fly stronger, and strike deeper. However, an abuse it is, and the most pernicious too, of the liberty of the press. For what greater affront to the severity of reason, the sublimity of truth, and the sanctity of religion, than to subject them to the impure touch of every empty scurrilous buffoon? the politeness of Athens, which you pretend so much to admire, should be here a lesson to you; which committed all questions of this nature, when they were to be examined, to their gravest and severest court, the Areopagus: whose judges would not suffer the advocates for either party to apply to the passions, so much as by the common rules of the chastest rhetoric [e]. But a

[d] See Plut. *Vit. Mar.*

[e] Exemplo legis Atticæ, Martiique judicii causæ Pa-

prepostero[u]s

prepoſterous love of mirth hath turned you all into wits, quite down from the ſanguine writer of *The independent whig*, to the atrabilaire blaſphemer of the miracles[f]. Though it would be but charity to tell you a plain truth, which Tully told your *illuſtrious predeceſſors* long ago, when infected with the ſame diſtemper: "Ita ſalem iſtum, quo ca-"ret veſtra natio, in irridendis nobis nolitote "conſumere. Et mehercule, ſi me audiatis, "ne experiamini quidem: non decet; non "datum eſt; non poteſtis." However, if you will needs be witty, take once more your example frrom the fine author of *The difficulties*; and learn from him the difference between the Attic irony and elegance of wit, and your intemperate ſcurrility and illiberal banter.

What a noiſe, you will ſay, for a little harmleſs mirth. Ah, Gentlemen! if that were all, you had my leave to laugh on: I would ſay with the old comic,

Utinam male qui mihi volunt, ſic rideant.

But low and mean as your buffoonry is, it is yet to the level of the people: and by it you *lead captive*, *ſilly* fellows, *laden with ſin*, *led away with divers luſts*, who are as little ſoli-

tronis denuntiat Præco neque principia dicere, neque miſerationem commovere. *Apul.*

[f] Woolſton.

citous,

citous, as capable, of the point of argument, ſo they can but catch the point of wit. Amongſt ſuch, and to ſuch, you write: and it is inconceivable what havoc falſe wit makes in a fooliſh head: "The rabble of mankind (as "an excellent writer well obſerves) being "very apt to think, that every thing which "is laughed at, with any mixture of wit, is "ridiculous in itſelf [g]." Few reflect on what a great wit [h] has ſo ingenuouſly owned, *That wit is generally falſe reaſoning.*

But one, in whom your party moſt glories, hath written in defence of this abuſive way of *wit and raillery*, on ſerious ſubjects. Let us hear him then [i]: "Nothing is ridiculous, "except what is deformed; nor is any thing "proof againſt raillery, except what is hand-"ſome and juſt: and therefore it is the "hardeſt thing in the world to deny fair ho-"neſty the uſe of this weapon; which can "never bear an edge againſt herſelf. One "may defy the world to turn bravery or ge-"neroſity into ridicule: a man muſt be "ſoundly ridiculous, who, with all the wit "imaginable, would go about to ridicule "wiſdom, or laugh at honeſty or good man-

[g] Mr. Addiſon's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 293. Quarto.

[h] *Mr. Wycherley to Mr. Pope*, *Letter* xvi.

[i] *Characteriſtics*, vol. i. *Eſſay on the freedom of wit and humour.*

ners,

"ners." Yes, ridiculous, indeed, to laugh at bravery, generosity, wisdom, honesty, or good manners, as such: and I hardly think, gentlemen, as licentious as some of you are, you will be ever brought to accept of this defiance. And why need you, when it is but shewing them, with overcharged and distorted features, to laugh at leisure. Call them but temerity, prodigality, gravity, simplicity, foppery, and, as you have often experienced, the business is done. And what security will the writer give us, that they shall not be so called? I am persuaded, if you are never to be thought *ridiculous* till you become so, in the way this gentleman marks out, you may go safely on in the *freedom of wit and humour*, till there be never a virtue left, to laugh out of countenance.

But he will say, he means such clear virtue as hath no equivocal mark about her, which a prevaricator can lay hold on. Admit this: the man of wit will then try to make her ridiculous by her equipage, if he cannot make her so in her person.

However, will he say, it shews at least, that nothing can be done against her, till she be disguised. A mighty consolation this to expiring virtue, that she cannot be destroyed till you have put her on a fool's coat. As if it was as hard to get that *on*, as Hercules's

off;

off; indeed, in this the compariſon will hold better, that when once *on*, it ſticks as cloſe as that envenomed one of old, and often laſts her to her funeral.

But if this noble writer means that truth cannot be obſcured, however diſguiſed; nor conſequently, made ridiculous, however repreſented; the two celebrated inſtances, which follow, ſeem to ſhew he was miſtaken. Where, in the firſt, it is ſeen, that nothing can be ſtronger than the ridicule, nor, at the ſame time more open and tranſparent than the diſguiſe; in the latter, nothing more obſcured than the beauty of the truth ridiculed, nor more out of ſight than the fallacy in the repreſentation. Which may teach us, that any kind of diſguiſe will ſerve the turn; and, that witty men will never be at a loſs for one.

Of all the virtues that were ſo much in this noble writer's heart, and in his writings, there was not one he more revered than *love of public liberty*; or which he would leſs ſuſpect ſhould become liable to the impreſſions of buffoonry. Methinks I hear him ſay, "One may defy the world to turn the love "of public liberty into ridicule: a man muſt "be ſoundly ridiculous, who, with all the "wit imaginable, would go about it."

However, once on a time, a great wit ſet upon this taſk; he undertook to laugh at this

very virtue; and that too, ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſet the whole nation a laughing with him. What mighty engine, you will aſk, was employed, to put in motion ſo large a body, and for ſo extraordinary a cauſe? In truth, a very ſimple one: a *diſcourſe*, of which all the wit conſiſts in the title; and that too ſculking, as you will ſee, under one unlucky word. *Mrs. Bull's vindication of the indiſpenſable duty of* CUCKOLDOM, *incumbent upon wives, in caſe of the tyranny, infidelity, or inſufficiency of huſbands* [k]. Now had the merry reader been but ſo wiſe to reflect, that reaſon was the teſt of ridicule, and not *ridicule the teſt of truth*, he would have ſeen to rectify the propoſition, and to ſtate it fairly thus: *The indiſpenſable duty of* DIVORCE, *etc.* And then the joke had been over, before the laugh could have begun.

And now let this noble writer tell us, as he does, that *fair honeſty can never bear an edge againſt herſelf, for that nothing is ridiculous but what is deformed*; and a great deal to the ſame purpoſe, which his Platonic manners had ſupplied him with.

But very often the change put upon us is not ſo eaſily diſcernible. Sulpicius tells Cicero, that returning by ſea from Aſia, and ſeeing in his courſe Ægina, Megara, the Pi-

[k] *Hiſtory of John Bull*, firſt part, chap. xiii.

ræeus,

ræeus, and Corinth in ruins, he fell into this very natural and humane reflexion: "And "shall we, short-lived creatures as we are, "bear with impatience the death of our fel- "lows, when, in one single view we behold "the carcases of so many lately flourishing "cities?[l]" What could be juster or wiser than the piety of this reflexion? And yet it could not escape the ridicule of a celebrated french buffoon. "If neither (says he[m]) the

[l] Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræeus; sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata, & diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant? *Sulpicius M. T. Ciceroni*, lib. iv. ep. 5.

[m] *Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,*
Piramides, Tombeaux, dont la vaine structure
A temoigné que l'art, par l'adresse des mains
Et l'assidu travail, peut vaincre la nature!
Vieux palais ruinez, chef d'œuvres des Romains,
Et les derniers efforts de leur architecture,
Collisée, où souvent *ces peuples inhumains*
De s'entr'assassiner se donnoient tablature,
Par l'injure des ans vous estes abolis,
Ou du moins la plus part vous estes demolis:
Il n'est point de ciment que le temps ne dissoude,
Si vos marbres si durs ont sentis son pouvoir,

"Pyramids

" Pyramids of Egypt, nor the Coloſſeum at " Rome could withſtand the injury of time; " why ſhould I think much that my black " waiſtcoat is out at elbows?" Here, indeed, the firſt thing to be obſerved is the ſuperior reſiſtance of truth.

The buffoon, before he could throw an air of ridicule on this admirable ſentiment, was forced to change the image; and in the place of Ægina, Megara, etc. to ſubſtitute the Pyramids and Coloſſeum. For theſe latter, as they were the monuments of human pride, and folly, eaſily ſuffered a ridiculous turn: but the former, as free cities, the nurſeries of arts and commerce, and being the nobleſt efforts of human wiſdom and virtue, could not ſo well be ſet in any idle light.

But then, how few of his readers were able to detect the change put upon them, when it is highly probable the author himſelf did not ſee it? who, perplexed at the obſtinate reſiſtance of *truth*, in the various arrangement of his ideas turned the edge of his raillery, before he was aware, againſt the phantaſm of *it*, and was the firſt that fell into his own deceit.

Dois-je trouver mauvais, qu'un meſchant pourpoint noir,
Qui m'a duré deux ans, ſoit percé par le coude?

Scarron.

Hence may be ſeen what the noble writer ſeems to have ſpoken at random, at leaſt, not at all to the purpoſe of the queſtion he was upon, that ſuch indeed is the inflexible nature of truth, that all the wit in the world can never render it ridiculous, till it be ſo diſtorted as to look like error, or ſo diſguiſed as to appear like folly. A circumſtance which, though it greatly recommends the *majeſty of virtue*, yet, as it cannot ſecure it from inſult, doth not at all ſhew the *innocence of ridicule*; which was the point he had to prove.

But to ſee what little good is to be expected in this way of *wit and humour*, one may go further; and obſerve, that even the ridicule of *falſe* virtue, which ſurely deſerves no quarter, hath been ſometimes attended with very ill effects. The Spaniards have lamented, and I believe truly, that Cervantes's juſt and inimitable ridicule of *knight-errantry* rooted up, with that folly, a great deal of their *real honour*. And it appears very evident, that Butler's fine ſatire on *fanaticiſm* contributed not a little, during the licentious times of Charles II. to bring *ſober piety* into diſcredit. The reaſon is evident: there are many lines of reſemblance between truth and its counterfeits: and it is the province of *wit* only to find out the *likeneſſes* in things; and

not the talent of the *common admirers of it* to diſcover the *differences*.

But you will ſay, perhaps, Let truth, when thus attacked, defend itſelf with the ſame arms: for why, as your maſter aſks, ſhould *fair honeſty be denied the uſe of this weapon?* Be it ſo: come on then, and let us impartially attend the iſſue. We have, upon record, the moſt illuſtrious example of this contention that ever was. The diſpute I mean, was between Socrates and Ariſtophanes. Here *truth* had all the advantage of place, of weapons, and of judges: the *firſt* employed his whole life in the cauſe of virtue: the *other*, only a few comic ſcenes againſt it. But, heavens! againſt what virtue! againſt the pureſt and brighteſt portion of it that ever enlightened the *gentile* world. The wit of Ariſtophanes is well known: that of Socrates was, in a ſupreme degree, juſt, delicate, and ſtrong; and, ſo frequent, that it procured him the name of the *Attic buffoon*. The *place* was the politeſt ſtate in the politeſt time, Athens in its glory; and the *judges* the grave ſenators of Areopagus. For all this, the comic poet triumphed: and with the coarſeſt kind of buffoonry, little fitted, one would think, to take ſo polite a people, had the art to tarniſh all this virtue; and, what was more, to make the owner reſemble his direct oppoſite, that cha-

racter he was moſt unlike, that character he moſt hated, that very character he had employed all his wit to detect, lay open, and confound; in one word, the SOPHIST. The conſequences are well known [n].

Thus will *raillery*, in defence of vice and error, be ſtill an overmatch for that employed on the ſide of truth and virtue. Becauſe *fair honeſty* uſes, though a ſharp, yet an untainted weapon; while knavery ſtrikes with one empoiſoned, though much duller. The honeſt man employs his wit as correctly as his logic; whereas the very definition of a knave's raillery is a ſophiſm.

But, indeed, when a licentious buffoonry is once appealed to, and encouraged; its iſſue has no kind of dependance on the fit choice of its object. All characters fall alike before it. In the diſſolute times of Charles II, this *weapon*, with the ſame eaſe, completed the ruin of the beſt, and, of the very worſt miniſter of that age. The hiſtorians tell us, that Chancellor Hyde was brought into his maſter's contempt, by this court-argument. They mimicked his walk and geſture, with a fire-ſhovel and bellows, for the mace and purſe. The ſame ingenious ſtroke of humour was

[n] See this matter, and what elſe relates to *ridicule, as a teſt of Truth*, explained at large, and in a very juſt and elegant manner, by Mr. *Brown*, in his *firſt Eſſay on the Characteriſtics*.

repeated on Secretary Bennet, and, by the happy addition of his black patch, with the very ſame ſucceſs. Thus, it being the repreſentation, and not the object repreſented, which ſtrikes the fancy, vice and virtue muſt fall indifferently before it.

I hope then, Gentlemen, you will in time be brought to own, that this method is the moſt unfair in itſelf, and moſt pernicious in its conſequences: that its natural effect is to miſlead the judgment, and to make the heart diſſolute.

It is a ſmall matter, that the State requires of you, ſobriety, decency, and good manners, to qualify you for the noble employment of thinking freely, and at eaſe. We have been told this, you will ſay, before: But, when it came to be explained; By *ſober writing* was meant, writing in the *language of the magiſtrate*. It may be ſo; but then, remember, it was not till you yourſelves had led the way to the abuſe of words; and had called calumny, complaint; and a ſcurril licence, urbanity. Happy for you, that you are in times when liberty is ſo well underſtood. Had you lived in the boaſted days of claſſic freedom, he amongſt you who had eſcaped beſt, had been branded with a character, the ancient ſages eſteemed moſt infamous of all, AN ENEMY TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY.

A very candid and reſpectable author ſpeaking of the ancient *reſtraints* on free-thinking, ſays, "Theſe were the maxims, theſe the "principles, which the light of nature ſug-"geſted, which reaſon dictated [o]." Nor has this fine writer any cauſe to be aſhamed of his acknowledgment; nor his adverſaries any pretence that he muſt needs eſteem it the meaſure for the preſent times. For, as a great ancient well obſerves, "It is one thing to ſpeak "of truth, and another to hear truth ſpeak of "herſelf [p]." It was CHRISTIAN TRUTH and CHARITY, the truth and charity you ſo much inſult, which only could take off thoſe reſtraints; and require no more of you than to be *as* FREE, *but not uſing your liberty for a cloak of maliciouſneſs* [q].

I have now done with your buffoonry: which, like chewed bullets, is againſt the law of arms; and come next to your ſcurrilities, thoſe ſtink-pots of your offenſive war.

As the CLERGY of the eſtabliſhed church have been more *particularly* watchful in what is yet the common cauſe of all, the intereſts of *Chriſtianity*, and moſt ſucceſsful in repelling the inſults of its enemies, they have fallen un-

[o] *Letter to Dr. Waterland*, p. 52, *& ſeq.*

[p] Ἄλλως τὶς περὶ ἀληθείας λέγει, ἢ ἀληθεία ἑαυτῇ ἐμποδών.

[q] 1 Pet. ii. 16.

der

der the heavieſt load of your calumny and ſlander. With unparalleled licence, you have gone on, repreſenting them as debauched, avaricious, proud, vindictive, ambitious, deceitful, irreligious, and incorrigible. "An order of men profligate and abandoned to wickedneſs, inconſiſtent with the good of ſociety, irreconcileable enemies to reaſon, and conſpirators againſt the liberty and property of mankind[r]."

To fill up your common place of ſlander, the moſt inconſiſtent qualities have been raked together to deform them: qualities that could never ſtand together, but in idea; and in the idea of a Free-thinker too.

The Order is now repreſented as moſt contemptible for their politics, ever in the wrong, and under a fatality of continued blunders attending them as a curſe: But anon, we are told of their deep-laid ſchemes of a ſeparate intereſt, ſo wiſely conducted, as to elude and baffle all the policy of courts, and wiſdom of legiſlatures.

Now they are a ſet of ſuperſtitious bigots, and firey zealots, prompt to ſacrifice the rights of humanity, to the intereſts of mother-church: but now again, they are *Tartufes*

[r] *Rights of the Chriſtian Church*, and *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, paſſim.

without religion; *Atheiſts and Apoſtates without faith or law.*

This moment, ſo united in one common confederacy, as to make their own policy the cauſe of God: But, the next, ſo divided, as to have every man's hand againſt his brother, *tearing and worrying one another*; to the great ſcandal of the charitable author of the *Diſcourſe of free-thinking.*

But it is to be hoped, as the evidence is ſo ill laid together, the accuſation may be groundleſs.

But why do I talk of the clergy, when there is not one, however otherwiſe eſteemed by, or related to you, that can eſcape your ſlander, if he happen to diſcover the leaſt inclination for that cauſe, againſt which you are ſo virulently bent? Mr. *Locke*, the honour of this age, and the inſtructor of the future, ſhews us, in the treatment he received from his FRIEND and from his PUPIL, what a believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their reſentment, that he had ſhewn *the reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*; and had placed all his *hopes* of happineſs in *another life.*

The intimacy between him and Mr. *Collins* is well known. Mr. *Collins* ſeemed to idolize Mr. *Locke* while living; and Mr. *Locke* was *confident* Mr. *Collins* would *preſerve his*

his memory when dead[r]. But he chanced to to be miſtaken: For no ſooner was he gone, than Mr. *Collins* publickly [s] inſults a notion of his *honoured friend*, concerning the *poſſibility of conceiving how matter might firſt be made and begin to be:* And goes affectedly out of his way to ſhew his good will to his memory.

The noble author of *the Characteriſtics* had received [t] part of his education from that great philoſopher: And it muſt be owned, that this lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man, and a writer. He was temperate, chaſte, honeſt, and a lover of his country. In his writings he hath ſhewn how largely he had imbibed the deep ſenſe, and how naturally he could copy the gracious manner of *Plato*. How far Mr. *Locke* contributed to the cultivating theſe qualities, I will not enquire: But that inveterate rancour which he indulged againſt *Chriſtianity*, it is certain, he had not from his maſter. It was Mr. *Locke's* love of it that ſeems principally to have expoſed him to his pupil's bittereſt inſults. One of the moſt precious re-

[r] "I know you loved me living, and will preſerve my "memory now I am dead," ſays he in his letter to be delivered to Mr. *Collins* at his death.

[s] *Anſwer to Dr.* Clarke's *third Defence of his Letter to Mr.* Dodwell, at the end.

[t] See *Bibl. Choiſie*, tom. vi. p. 343.

mains

mains of the piety of that excellent man, are his laſt words to Mr. *Collins*: "May you "live long and happy, *&c.* all the uſe to be "made of it is, *that this world is a ſcene of* "*vanity, that ſoon paſſes away, and affords* "*no ſolid ſatisfaction*, but the conſciouſneſs "of well doing, and the HOPES OF ANO-"THER LIFE. This is what I can ſay by "experience, and what you will find when "you come to make up your account[t]." One would think, that if ever the parting breath of pious men, or the laſt precepts of dying philoſophers, could claim reverence of their ſurvivors, this noble monument of friendſhip, and religion, had been ſecure from outrage. Yet hear, in how unworthy, how cruel a manner, his noble diſciple apoſtrophizes him on this occaſion: "*Philoſopher!* "let me hear concerning life, what the "right notion is, and what I am to ſtand to "upon occaſion; that I may not, when life "ſeems retiring, or *has run itſelf out to* "*the very dregs*[u], cry VANITY! condemn "the WORLD, and at the ſame time com-"plain that LIFE IS SHORT AND PASSING. "For why ſo *ſhort* indeed, if not found "*ſweet?* Why do I complain both ways? "Is *vanity*, mere vanity, a happineſs; or

[t] Amongſt his Letters publiſhed by Deſmaizeaux.

[u] Mr. *Locke* was then in his 73[d] year.

"can

" can miſery *paſs away* too ſoon [x] ?" Here the polite author had the noble pleaſure of ridiculing the *philoſopher* and the *Pſalmiſt* [y] together. But I will leave the ſtrange reflexions, that naturally ariſe from hence, to the reader; who, I am ſure, will be beforehand with me in judging, that Mr. *Locke* had reaſon to *condemn a world* that afforded ſuch a *friend* and *pupil* [z].

[x] *Characteriſtics*, vol. i. p. 302. 3d ed.

[y] *Man is like to vanity: His days are as a ſhadow that paſſeth away.* PSAL. cxliv. 4.

[z] The ſpite he bore his maſter is inconceivable: He did not diſdain to take up with thoſe vulgar calumnies that Mr. *Locke* had again and again confuted. " Some " even (ſays he, *Charact.* vol. i. p. 80. 3d ed.) of our " moſt admired modern philoſophers had fairly told us, " that virtue and vice had, after all, no other law or " meaſure than mere faſhion and vogue." The caſe is this: When Mr. *Locke* reaſons againſt *innate ideas*, he brings it as one argument againſt them, that virtue and vice in many places, were not regulated by the nature of things, which they muſt have been, were there ſuch *innate ideas:* But by mere faſhion and vogue. Is this then *fairly told* of *our admired modern philoſopher* ? But it was crime enough that he laboured to overthrow *innate ideas*; things that the noble author underſtood to be the foundation of his *moral ſenſe*. (See vol. iii. p. 214.) In vain did Mr. *Locke* inceſſantly repeat, that " the divine law is the only true touchſtone of moral " rectitude." This did but increaſe his pupil's reſentment, who had all his faculties poſſeſſed with the MORAL SENSE, as " the only true touchſtone of moral " rectitude." But the whole Eſſay itſelf, one of the

But

But to return, Gentlemen, to your abuſe of the clergy: this is not only to affront *religion*, which, by your practice, you ſeem to regard as one of the eſſential branches of literary liberty; but likewiſe, to inſult *civil ſociety*. For while there is ſuch a thing as a church *eſtabliſhed by law*, the *miniſtry* of it muſt needs bear a *ſacred*, that is, a *public* character, even on your own principles [a]. To abuſe them, therefore, as a body, is *inſulting* the ſtate that protects them. It is highly *injurious* likewiſe, becauſe a body-politic cannot preſerve the reverence neceſſary

nobleſt, and moſt original books in the world, could not eſcape his ridicule: "In reality (ſays he, vol. i. "p. 299.) how ſpecious a ſtudy, how ſolemn an amuſe-"ment, is raiſed from what we call philoſophical ſpe-"culations! The formation of ideas! their compoſi-"tions, compariſons, agreement, and diſagreement! "—Why do I concern myſelf in ſpeculations about "my ideas? What is it to me, for inſtance, to know "what kind of idea I can form of ſpace? Divide a ſo-"lid body, *etc.*" and ſo he goes on in Mr. *Locke*'s own words: And leſt the reader ſhould not take the ſatire, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that "theſe "are the words of the particular author cited." But the invidious Remark on this quotation ſurpaſſes all credit. *Thus the atomiſt, or* EPICUREAN. The *Free-thinkers* after this, can never ſure upbraid us with our flippancy in giving the name of *Deiſt* and *Atheiſt* to thoſe we do not like, when the very hero of their cauſe is thus taken in the fact.

[a] "They alſo that have authority to teach, *etc.* are "public miniſters." *Leviathan*, p. 124.

for

for the ſupport of government, longer than its public officers, whether civil or religious, are treated with the regard due to their reſpective ſtations [b]. And here, your excuſe, when charged with uſing holy Writ irreverently, is out of doors. You pretend that the accuſation is diſingenuous, becauſe it takes for granted the thing in diſpute. But in the caſe before us, it is agreed, that the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed worſhip have a *ſacred*, that is, a *public* character.

Out of your own mouths likewiſe, are you condemned. A few inſtances there are in the firſt ages of *Chriſtianity*, of ſomething reſembling this miſconduct; where the intemperance of private zeal now and then gave the affront to the national religion. But who are they that ſo ſeverely cenſure this diſorder? that raiſe ſuch tragic outcries againſt the factious ſpirit of primitive *Chriſtianity?* Who, Gentlemen, but Yourſelves! The very men who, out of ſpite and wantonneſs, daily perſiſt in doing what a miſguided devotion, now and then, though rarely, betrayed a martyr to commit.

But would you read *Chriſtian* antiquity with equal minds, you would not want exam-

[b] Ἀρχῶσιν ἡ ὀφειλομένη αἰδὼς καὶ τιμὴ φυλαττομένη κόσμον σώζει πόλεως, καὶ διατηρεῖ. *Ant. Scrip. apud Stob. de rep. Serm.* 41.

ples

ples of a better conduct. For in general the apologists for the *Christian* faith observed a decency and moderation, becoming the truth and importance of the cause they had to support. We need only look into *Lactantius* for the modesty of their conduct in this respect.

This eloquent apologist, who wrote in an age that would have indulged greater liberties, giving in his *divine institutions*, the last stroke to expiring paganism; where he confutes the *national religion*, spares as much as possible the *priests*; but in exposing their *philosophy*, is not so tender of their *sophists*: For these last having no public character, the State was not concerned to have them managed. Such, I say, was the general behaviour of the first *Christians*.

Nor can you plead, in your excuse, any other necessity, than that inseparable from a weak cause, of committing this violence. The discovery of truth is so far from being advanced by it, that, on the contrary, it carries all the marks of design to retard the search, when you so industriously draw off the reader's attention from the *cause*, by diverting him at the expence of the *advocate*.

It is true, that at what time the Clergy so far forgot the nature of their office, and of the cause they were appointed to defend, as to call in the secular arm to support their argu-

arguments againſt wrong opinions, we ſaw without much ſurpriſe or reſentment, You, Gentlemen, in the like deluſion[c]; falling without ſcruple to affront the public, then little diſpoſed to give you an equal hearing, by the abuſe of a body, whoſe *private* intereſts the State had indiſcreetly eſpouſed. For where was the wonder, when Government had aſſumed too much, for thoſe oppreſſed by it, to allow it too little? You thought this a fair repriſal; and your candid enemies confeſſed, that ſome indulgence was to be given to the paſſions of men, raiſed and inflamed by ſo unequal a treatment. But now, that the *ſtate* has withdrawn its power, and confined it within its proper office; and that this *learned body* publicly diſclaims its aſſiſtance; it will ſurely be expected, that You, likewiſe, ſhould return to a better mind, and forſake a practice inſolently continued, without any reaſonable pretence of freſh provocation.

Your laſt abuſe, gentlemen, of the liberty of the preſs, is a certain diſſolute habit of mind, regardleſs both of truth and falſhood, which you betray in all your attacks on revelation. Who that had not heard of your ſolemn profeſſions *of the love of liberty, of truth, of virtue, of your aim at the honour of God,*

[c] Both ſides believing any means lawful to ſupport what they thought the truth.

and

and good of man, could ever believe you had any thing of this at heart, when they ſee that ſpirit of levity, and diſſipation which runs through all your writings?

That You may not ſay I ſlander you, I will produce thoſe marks in your works, on which I have formed my accuſation, of this abandoned temper.

1. The firſt is an illimited buffoonry; which ſuffers no teſt or criterion to your ridicule, to ſhew us, when you are in jeſt, and when in earneſt.

2. An induſtrious affectation in keeping your true character out of ſight; and in conſtantly aſſuming ſome new and fictitious perſonage.

3. A love of chicane and contradiction; ſupported by an unnatural mixture of ſcepticiſm and dogmatizing.

And here, Gentlemen, in illuſtrating theſe three circumſtances of guilt, one might detect all your *arts of controverſy*, and eaſily diſplay the whole myſtery of modern *Free-thinking*. But the limits of this addreſs will only permit me in few words to deſcribe the general nature of each; in order to ſhew how certain an indication they are of the turn of mind I charge upon you.

1. The illimited, undiſtinguiſhable irony, which affords no inſight into the author's mean-

meaning, or ſo much as room to gueſs what he would be at, is our firſt note. This, which is your favourite extravagance, the noble author, who was ſo much your friend, calls "a dull ſort of wit which amuſes all alike [d]." Nay, he even ventures to pronounce it "a "groſs, immoral, and illiberal way of abuſe, "foreign to the character of a good writer, a "gentleman, or man of worth [e]." 'Tis pity he ſhould fall under his own cenſure: Yet this is certain, he hath ſo managed his *good humour*, that his admirers may always find a handle to charge us with credulity, or want of charity, let us determine as we will of his *true* and *real* ſentiments. However, the noble writer hath not aggravated this folly, in the *character* he hath given of it: For, here forgetful of your own precepts, (your common-place topic againſt public inſtructors) while you preſcribe ridicule to be ſo managed, *as to ſhew it tends to a ſerious iſſue*; you practiſe it ſo indiſcriminately, as to make one believe you were all the time in jeſt. While you direct it *to unmaſk formal hypocriſy*, you ſuffer it to put ſober truth out of countenance; and while you claim its aid, *to find out what is to be laughed at in every thing*, you employ it to bring in every thing to be laughed at.

[d] *Charact.* vol. i. tract. ii. pt. i. § 2.
[e] Vol. iii. miſcel. iv. c. 2.

That a reſtraint on free enquiry, will force writers into this vicious manner, we readily allow. Under theſe circumſtances, ſuch a key to ridicule as juſt writing demands being unſafe; and the only way to eſcape perſecution being to cover and intrench themſelves in obſcurity; it is no wonder that *ridicule* ſhould degenerate into the *buffoonry* that *amuſes all alike:* As in *Italy*, which gave birth to this ſpecies of writing, it is the only way, in which the *poor crampt thinking wretches can diſcharge a free thought.* But in *Great Britain*, happily for Truth, and You, PHILOSOPHY is at her eaſe; and you may lead her ſafely back, thro' all the ancient modes of doubting, objecting, and confuting.

It is difficult, therefore, to aſſign any other likely cauſe of this extravagance, than that vicious levity of ſpirit I have charged upon you. For as Man is formed by nature with an incredible appetite for Truth; ſo his ſtrongeſt pleaſure, in the enjoyment, ariſes from the actual communication of it to others. Without this, it would be a cold purchaſe, would abſtract, ideal, ſolitary Truth; and poorly repay the labour and fatigue of the purſuit. Amongſt the Ancients, who, you will allow, had high notions of this SOCIAL SENSE, it was a ſaying recorded by *Cicero* with approbation, "that even heaven would be no happineſs,

" pineſs, to him who had not ſome compa-
" nion or *ſocial ſpirit* to ſhare with him in
" the pleaſure of contemplating the great
" truths of nature there revealed unto him."
" Si quis in cœlum aſcendiſſet, naturamque
" mundi, et pulchritudinem ſiderum perſpex-
" iſſet, inſuavem illam admirationem ei fore;
" quæ jucundiſſima fuiſſet, ſi aliquem, cui
" narraret, habuiſſet[f]." *Seneca* goes yet fur-
ther: " Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet ex-
" imia ſit et ſalutaris, quam mihi uni ſciturus
" ſim. Si cum hac exceptione detur ſapien-
" tia, ut illam incluſam teneam, nec enun-
" ciem, rejiciam: nullius boni, ſine socio,
" jucunda poſſeſſio eſt[g]." It was this paſſion which gave birth to writing, and brought literary compoſition to an art; whereby the public was made a ſharer in thoſe important truths, which particulars had with ſo much toil excogitated for its uſe and entertainment. The principal object therefore of an author, while his paſſions are in their right ſtate, muſt needs be to deliver his ſentiments and opinions with all poſſible clearneſs: ſo as no particular caſt of compoſition, or turn of expreſſion, which he held conducive to the embelliſhment of his work, ſhould be ſuffered to throw an ambiguity on his propoſitions, capable of miſleading the reader in judging of his real

[f] *De Amicitia.* [g] Ep. vi.

ſentiments. To ſuch a one, nothing can be a greater concern than to find that this his principal purpoſe was defeated.

But when, on the contrary, we ſee a writer, who is ſo far from diſcovering any thing of this concern, that an air of negligence appears in every thing he delivers; a viſible contempt of his reader's ſatisfaction, to which he prefers a dull malicious pleaſure of miſleading him in the obſcurity of an illimited ridicule; we cannot poſſibly avoid concluding ſuch a one to be far gone in this wretched depravity of heart.

2. Another mark, is Your perpetually aſſuming ſome perſonated character, as the exigence of chicane requires. For the diſpute is to be kept on foot; and therefore, when in danger of coming to an iſſue, a new perſonage is to be aſſumed, that the trial of ſkill may be fought over again with different weapons. So that the modern Free-thinker, is a perfect *Proteus*. He is now a Diſſenter, or a Papiſt; now again a Jew, or a Mahometan; and, when cloſely preſſed and hunted through all the ſhapes, he at length ſtarts up in his genuine form, an INFIDEL confeſſed [h].

Indeed where the Magiſtrate hath confined the liberty of free debate, to one or two profeſſions, There, an unlicenced writer hath

[h] Mr. *Collins*.

no

no way of publiſhing his ſpeculations, but under the cover of one of theſe authorized Profeſſors. But to affect this practice after the neceſſity is over, is licentious and immoral. For the perſonated character, only arguing *ad hominem*, embroils, rather than directs us, in the ſearch of truth; has a natural tendency to promote ſcepticiſm; and if not this, yet it keeps the diſpute from ever coming to an iſſue; which is attended with great inconveniences. For though the diſcovery of ſpeculative truth be of much importance to the perfection of man's nature, yet the ſtudious lengthening out literary debates, is greatly pernicious to ſociety, as ſocieties are generally formed. Therefore, though the good of mankind would ſet an honeſt man upon publiſhing what he takes to be diſcoveries in truth; yet the ſame motive would oblige him to take the faireſt, and moſt direct road to their reception.

But I would not have it thought, by this, that I condemn the aſſuming a perſonated character on all occaſions whatſoever. There are ſeaſons when it is fair and expedient. When the diſpute is about the PRACTICAL application of ſome truth to the good of a particular ſociety; there it is prudent to take up a ſuitable character, and to argue *ad hominem*. For there, the end is a benefit to be

gained for that ſociety; and it is not of ſo great moment on what principles the majority is prevailed upon to make the ſociety happy, as it is, that it ſhould ſpeedily become ſo. But in the diſcovery of ABSTRACT SPECULATIVE truth, the affair goes quite otherwiſe. The buſineſs here is *demonſtration*, not *perſuaſion*. And it is of the eſſence of truth, to be made appear and ſhine out only by its own luſtre.

A familiar example will ſupport this obſervation. Our great *Britiſh* philoſopher, writing for *religious liberty*, combats his *intolerant* adverſary, all the way, with his own principles; well knowing that, in ſuch a time of prejudices, arguments built on received opinions, would have greateſt weight, and make quickeſt impreſſion on the body of the People, whom it was his buſineſs to gain. But the method he employed in defending mere ſpeculative truth was very different. A Prelate of great name, was pleaſed to attack his *eſſay concerning human underſtanding*; who, though conſummate in the learning of the Schools, yet happened at that time to apply his principles ſo very aukwardly, as gave our philoſopher the moſt inviting opportunity of turning them againſt him. An advantage moſt to the taſte of him who contends only for victory: but he contended for truth; and was too wiſe to think of eſtabliſhing

bliſhing it on falſhood; and too honeſt to affect triumphing over error by any thing but by its oppoſite.

You ſee then, Gentlemen, you are not likely to eſcape by this diſtinction: the diſpute with you is about ſpeculative truth: Yourſelves take care to give the world repeated information of it, as often as you think fit to feign an apprehenſion of the Magiſtrate's reſentment.

But of as little uſe as this method, of the *perſonated character*, is, in itſelf, to the juſt end of controverſy, you generally add a double ſhare of diſingenuity in conducting it. Common ſenſe, as well as common honeſty, requires, that he who aſſumes a *perſonated character*, ſhould fairly ſtick by it, for that turn at leaſt. But we ſhall be greatly deceived, if we preſume on ſo much condeſcenſion: the late famous author of *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion*, took it into his head to perſonate a *Jew*, in the interpretation of ſome propheſies which he would perſuade us are not applicable to *Jeſus*. The learned prelate, who undertook to anſwer him, having ſhewn that thoſe propheſies had no completion under the *Jewiſh* diſpenſation, concludes very pertinently, *that if they did not belong to* Jeſus, *they belong to no one*. What ſays our impoſtor *Jew*

to this? One would be aſtoniſhed at his reply: *Suppoſe they do not*, ſays he, *I am not anſwerable for their completion.* What! not as a *Jew?* whoſe perſon he aſſumes, and whoſe argument he borrows: which argument is not founded on this, That the characters of completion, according to the *Chriſtian* ſcheme, do not coincide and quadrate; to which, indeed, his anſwer would be pertinent; but on this, that there are complete characters of the completion of the propheſies, under the *Jewiſh* oeconomy; and therefore, ſays the *Jew*, you are not to look for thoſe marks under the *Chriſtian*. The only reaſonable way then of replying to this argument, is to deny, that there are ſuch marks under the *Jewiſh* oeconomy; which if the *Jew* cannot prove, his objection founded on a *prior completion*, is entirely overthrown. Inſtead of this, we are put off with the cold buffoonry of, *I am not obliged to find a meaning for your propheſies.*

3. The third mark of this abandoned ſpirit, is that unnatural mixture of ſcepticiſm, and dogmatizing, which ſo monſtrouſly variegates your miſhapen works. I do not mean by it, that unreaſonable temper of mind, which diſtinguiſhes the whole claſs of Free-thinkers; and ſuffers you at the ſame time, that you affect much ſcepticiſm, in rejecting

jecting revelation, to dogmatize very positively on some favourite points of civil tradition. The noble author, so oft before quoted, could not himself forbear to ridicule his party for this foible [1]. "It must certainly, says he, be "something else than incredulity which fa- "shions the taste and judgment of many "Gentlemen, whom we hear censured as "Atheists. --- Who, if they want a true "*Israelitish* faith, can make amends by a "*Chinese* or *Indian* one. --- Though *Chris-* "*tian* miracles may not so well satisfy them, "they dwell with the highest contentment "on the prodigies of *Moorish* and *Pagan* "countries."

This is ill enough, but the perversity I speak of is much worse: and that is, when the same writer, on different occasions assumes the Dogmatist and Sceptic on the same question; and so abuses both characters, by all the perversity of self-contradiction.

For instance, how common is it for one of Your writers, when he brings *Pagan* antiquity to contradict and discredit the *Jewish*, to cry up a *Greek* historian as an evidence, to which nothing can be replied? An imperfect hint from *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus*, though one lived a thousand, and the other fifteen hundred years after the point in ques-

[1] *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 345, edit. 3.

tion

tion, picked up from any lying traveller they met with in their rambles, ſhall now outweigh the circumſtantial hiſtory of *Moſes*; who wrote of his own people, and lived in the times he wrote of. But now turn the tables, and apply the teſtimony of theſe writers, and of others of the beſt credit of the ſame nation, to the confirmation of the *Jewiſh hiſtory*, and then nothing is more uncertain and fallacious than claſſical antiquity. All is darkneſs and confuſion: then we are ſure to hear of,

—— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in hiſtoria. ——

Then *Herodotus* is a lying traveller, and *Diodorus Siculus* a haſty collector.

Again, when the choice and ſeparation of the *Iſraelites* for God's peculiar people, is to be brought in queſtion, and made ridiculous; they are repreſented as the vileſt, the moſt profligate, and perverſe race of men: then every indiſcreet paſſage of a *declamatory divine* is raked up with care to make them odious; and even the hard fate of the great hiſtorian *Joſephus* pitied, that he had "no bet-"ter a ſubject than ſuch an illiterate, bar-"barous, and ridiculous people [k]." But when the Scripture account of the treatment, which the Holy *Jeſus* met with from

[k] *Diſcourſe of Free-thinking*, p. 157.

them,

them, is thought fit to be disputed; these *Jews* are become an humane and wise nation; which interfered not with the teachings of sects, or the propagation of opinions, but where the public safety was thought to be in danger by seditious doctrines.

But so it is, even with the BIBLE itself, and its best interpreter, HUMAN REASON. It is generally allowed that the author of *The Discourse of Free-thinking*, and of *The Grounds and Reasons of the* Christian *Religion*, was one and the same person. Now it being to his purpose in the first pamphlet, to blast the credit of the book in general, as a *rule of faith*, the Bible is there represented as a most obscure, dark, incomprehensible collection of multifarious tracts. But in his discourse of *The Grounds*, etc. where [1] he is to obviate the reason of the difficulty in explaining ancient prophesies drawn from the genius of the Eastern style, sentiment, and manners; this very book is, on a sudden, become so easy, plain, and intelligible, that no one can possible mistake its meaning.

Again, the same writer, where, in his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason*, he is upon discrediting the doctrine of the ever blessed

[1] *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 68. and *of the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 81—2.

Trinity,

Trinity, and other myſteries of the *Chriſtian* faith, repreſents human reaſon as omniſcient, and the full meaſure of all things: but when the proof of the immateriality of the ſoul, from the qualities of matter and ſpirit, is to be obſtinately oppoſed, the ſcene is ſhifted, and we are preſented with a new face of things: Reaſon is then become weak, ſtaggering, and impotent: then we know not but one quality may be another quality; one mode another mode; Motion may be conſciouſneſs; and Matter ſentient [m].

Theſe, Gentlemen, are the ſeveral ways, in which you have abuſed the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. One might defy you, with all your good will, to find out a new one, or to go further in the old: You have done your worſt. You ſhould think of growing better. This is the only inference I would draw from your bad conduct. For I am not one of thoſe who ſay you ſhould be disfranchiſed of the rights you have ſo wantonly and wickedly abuſed. *Natural* rights were leſs precariouſly beſtowed: the *civil*, indeed, are frequently given on the condition of our good behaviour. And this difference, in the ſecurity of the poſſeſſion, is founded in the plaineſt reaſon. *Natural* rights are ſo neceſſary to our being, that, without them,

[m] See his Anſwers to Dr. *Clarke*.

Life

Life becomes miſerable; but the *civil* only contributing to our eaſier accommodation, in ſome circumſtances of it, may be loſt without injury to our common nature.

In a word then, all that we deſire is your amendment; without any ſiniſter aim of calling upon the Magiſtrate to quicken you. So I leave you, as I dare ſay will *he*, to yourſelves. Nor let any good man be above meaſure ſcandalized for your faults; or more impatient for your reformation, than mere charity requires. I don't know what panic the preſent growth of infidelity may have thrown ſome of us into: I, for my part, confide ſo much in the goodneſs of our cauſe, that I too could be tempted to *laugh* in my turn, while I think of an old ſtory told us by *Herodotus* [n],

[n] Lib. ii. c. 14. vid. Plutarch. *Symp.* l. iv. Prob. 5. The learned Gale cannot be reconciled to this kind of huſbandry. He is therefore for having the word Ὑς, uſed by *Herodotus*, not to ſignify *ſwine*, but *cows* or *heifers*. His authority for this uſe of the word is *Heſychius*. But *Plutarch* is a much better for the other ſignification, who in his *Symp.* quoted above, ſpeaking to the queſtion Πότερον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σεβόμενοι τὴν ὗν, *etc.* mentions this very circumſtance of tillage from *Herodotus*, and underſtands by ὗς *ſwine*. The truth of the matter ſeems to be this, *Heſychius* found that ὗς, in ſome obſcure province or other, meant a *Heifer*, as κάπρος amongſt the *Tyrrhenians* meant a *goat*, and ſo put it down to inrich his dictionary with an unuſual ſignification.

of your favourite *Egyptians*; of whom you are like to hear a great deal in the following work. With this tale I ſhall beg leave to conclude my long addreſs unto you.

He tells us then, that at what time their Deity, the *Nile*, returns into his ancient channel; and the huſbandman hath committed the *good ſeed* to the opening glebe, it was their cuſtom to turn in whole droves of SWINE; to range, to trample, root up, and deſtroy at pleaſure, And now nothing appeared but deſolation, while the ravages of the obſcene herd had killed every chearful hope of future plenty. When on the iſſue, it was ſeen, that all their malice and greedineſs had effected, was only this; that the ſeed took better root, incorporated more kindly with the ſoil, and at length ſhot up in a more luxuriant and abundant harveſt.

I am,

GENTLEMEN, *etc.*

PREFACE

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION

In MDCCXXXVIII.

THE following ſheets make the *firſt volume* of a work, deſigned to prove the DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE JEWISH RELIGION. As the author was neither indebted, nor engaged to the Public, he hath done his readers no injury in not giving them more; and had they not had *this*, neither he nor they, perhaps, had eſteemed themſelves loſers. For writing for no party, it is likely he will pleaſe none; and begging no protection, it is more likely he will find none: and he muſt have more of the confidence of a modern writer than falls to his ſhare, to think of making much way with the feeble effort of his own reaſon.

Writers,

Writers, indeed, have been oft betrayed into ſtrange abſurd concluſions from I can't tell what obſolete claim which LETTERS have to the patronage of the *Great:* a relation, if indeed there ever were any, long ſince worn out and loſt; the *Great* now ſeeming reaſonably well convinced, that it had never any better foundation than the rhetorical importunity of Beggars.

But however this claim of patronage may be underſtood, there is another of a more important nature; which is the patronage of RELIGION. The Author begs leave to aſſure thoſe who have no time to ſpare from their attention on the Public, that the protection of Religion is indiſpenſably neceſſary to all Governments; and for his warrant he offers them the following volume; which endeavours to ſhew the neceſſity of Religion in general, and of the doctrine of a Future State in particular, to civil ſociety, from the nature of things, and the univerſal conſent of mankind. The proving this, I make no queſtion, many politicians will eſteem ſufficient: but thoſe who are ſolicitous to have religion *true* as well as *uſeful*, the author will endeavour to ſatisfy in the *following volumes.*

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BOOK I.

SECT. I.

THE writers, in defence of revealed religion, distinguish their arguments into two sorts: the one they call the INTERNAL, and the other the EXTERNAL evidence. Of these, the first is, in its nature, more simple and perfect; and even capable of demonstration: while the other, made up of very dissimilar materials, and borrowing aid from without, must needs have some parts of unequal strength with the rest; and, consequently, lie open to the attacks of a willing adversary. Besides, the *internal* evidence is, by its nature, perpetuated; and so fitted for all ages and occasions: while the *external*, by length of time, weakens and decays. For the nature and genius of the religion defended affording

ing the proofs of the firſt kind, theſe materials of defence are inſeparable from its exiſtence; and ſo always at hand. But Time may, and doth efface memorials independent of that exiſtence; out of which the *external* evidence is compoſed. Which evidence muſt therefore become more and more imperfect, without being affected by that whimſical and partial calculation, to which a certain *Scotchman*[a] would ſubject it[b]. Nay, of ſuch uſe is the *internal* evidence, that, even the very beſt of the *external* cannot ſupport itſelf without it: for when (for inſtance) the ſupernatural facts done by the founders of our holy faith, are unqueſtionably verified by human teſtimony, the evidence of their divinity will not follow 'till the nature of that doctrine be examined, for whoſe eſtabliſhment they were performed. But was there no other benefit ariſing from the cultivation of the *internal* evidence than the gaining, by it, a more perfect knowledge of revealed religion; this, ſure, would be enough to engage us in a vigorous proſecution of it. That this is one of its fruits I need not tell ſuch as are acquainted with its nature. And it is not without occaſion I take notice of this advantage: for who, in this long controverſy between us and the Deiſts, hath not applied to certain advocates of revelation, what was formerly ſaid of *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, *that they undertook the defence of Chriſtianity before they underſtood it?* A misfortune

[a] Craig. *Theologiæ Chriſt. Principia Mathematica*, *London* 1699. 4to.

[b] This gradual weakening of the *external evidence* hath in fact actually happened; and was occaſioned by the loſs of ſeveral ancient teſtimonies both Pagan and Chriſtian, for the truth of Revelation; which learned men, on ſeveral occaſions, have frequently lamented. This is the only way, I ſuppoſe, the *external evidence* can weaken.

which probably the more careful ſtudy of the *internal* evidence would have prevented; becauſe no one, well verſed in *that*, could have continued ignorant of ſo important a principle, as that THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION IS OF THE VERY ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Notwithſtanding theſe ſuperior advantages, it hath ſo happened, that the *internal* evidence hath been hitherto uſed as an introduction only to the *external:* and while by the *latter*, men have proved our religion actually divine, they have gone no further with the *former*, than to ſhew it worthy indeed of ſuch original.

What may have occaſioned this neglect, is not ſo eaſy to ſay. Perhaps it was becauſe writers have, in general, imagined that the difficulties of proſecuting the *internal* method to effect, are not ſo eaſily ſurmounted as thoſe which attend the other; while they ſuppoſe that the writer on the *external* evidence hath only need of the uſual proviſion of church-hiſtory, common diligence, and judgment, to be maſter of his ſubject: but that the reaſoner on the *internal* proof, muſt, beſides theſe, have a thorough knowledge of human nature, civil policy, the univerſal hiſtory of mankind, an exact idea of the *moſaic* and *chriſtian* diſpenſations cleared from the froth and grounds of ſchool-ſubtilties, and church-ſyſtems; and, above all, ſhould be bleſſed with a certain ſagacity, to inveſtigate the relations of human actions, through all the combinations of natural, civil, and moral complexities. What may ſuggeſt this opinion is, the reflecting, that, in the *external* evidence, each circumſtance, that makes for the truth of revealed religion, is ſeen to do ſo, as ſoon as known: ſo that the chief labour, here, is to ſearch and pick out ſuch, and

to place them in their proper light and ſituation; but that, in proſecuting the *internal* evidence, the caſe is widely different: a circumſtance in the frame and compoſition of this religion, that perhaps, ſome time or other, may be diſcovered to be a demonſtration of its divinity, ſhall be ſo far from being generally thought aſſiſting in its proof, that it ſhall be eſteemed, by moſt, a prejudice againſt it: as I ſuppoſe the ſubject of the following diſcourſe will afford a remarkable inſtance. And no wonder, that a religion of divine original, conſtituted to ſerve many admirable ends of providence, ſhould be full of ſuch complicated myſteries, as filled the learned apoſtle with admiration. On the other hand, this religion being for the uſe of man, we need not deſpair, when we have attained a proper knowledge of man's nature, and the dependencies thereon, of making ſtill growing diſcoveries, on the *internal* evidence, of the divinity of its original.

Now, tho' all this may be true; and that, conſequently, it would appear a childiſh arrogance in an ordinary writer, after having ſeen the difficulties attending this method, to hope to overcome them, by the qualities here ſaid to be required; yet no modeſt ſearcher after truth need be diſcouraged. For there are, in revealed religion, beſides thoſe interior marks of truth, above deſcribed, which require the delicate operation of a great genius and maſter-workman to bring out and poliſh, others alſo, no leſs illuſtrious, but more univocal marks of truth, that God hath been pleaſed to impreſs upon his diſpenſations; which require no great qualities, but humility, and love of truth, in him, who would from thence attempt *to vindicate the ways of God to man.*

The ſubject of this diſcourſe is one of thoſe illuſtrious marks; from which, the diſcoverer claims no

no merit from any long, learned, or laborious search. It is honour enough for him that he is the first who brings it out to observation; if he be indeed the first. For the demonstration is so strong and beautiful, and, at the same time, appears to be so easy and simple, that one cannot tell whether the pleasure of the discovery, or the wonder that it is now to make, be the greater.

The title of this discourse tells my reader, that I undertake to prove the divine legation of *Moses*, from the omission of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, in the laws and religion he delivered to the *jewish* people. In which I pretend to carry the *internal* evidence much further than usual; even to the height of which it is capable, moral demonstration.

Why I chuse to make the defence of *Moses* the subject of this discourse, is the observing a notion to have spread very much of late, even amongst many who would be thought *Christians*, that the truth of Christianity is independent of the *jewish* dispensation: a notion, that was, 'till now, peculiar to the *Socinians*; who go so far as to maintain[d], *that the knowledge of the old Testament is not absolutely necessary for Christians:* and, that those who profess to think more soberly, are generally gone into an opinion that the truth of the *jewish* religion is impossible to be proved but upon the truth of the *christian.* As to the first sort of people, if they really imagine Christianity hath no dependence on Judaism, they deserve our compassion, as being plainly ignorant of the very elements of the religion they profess; however suitable the opinion may be to a modern fashionable notion, that *Christianity is only the republication of the religion of*

[d] Cuper, adverf. Tract. Theol. Polit. lib i.

Nature. As for the *other*, it is reaſonable to think, they fell into the miſtake from a view of difficulties, in the *jewiſh* diſpenſation, they judged too weighty to be removed. I may pretend then to their thanks, if I ſucceed, by coming ſo ſeaſonably to their relief; and freeing their reaſonings from a vicious circle, that would firſt prove the *chriſtian* by the *jewiſh*; and then the *jewiſh*, by the *chriſtian* religion.

Why I chuſe this medium, namely, *the omiſſion of a future ſtate in the* jewiſh *diſpenſation*, to prove its divine original, is, *Firſt*, for the ſake of the Deists: being enabled hereby to ſhew them, 1. That this very circumſtance of omiſſion, which they pretend to be ſuch an imperfection, as makes the diſpenſation unworthy the author to whom we aſcribe it, is, in truth, a demonſtration that God only could give it. 2. That thoſe ſeveral important paſſages of Scripture, which they charge with obſcurity, injuſtice, and contradiction, are, indeed, full of light, equity, and agreement. 3. That their high notions of the antiquity of the religion, and learning of the *Ægyptians*, which they inceſſantly produce, as *their palmary argument*, to confront and overturn the hiſtory of *Moſes*, do, in an invincible manner, confirm and ſupport it.

Secondly, For the ſake of the Jews; who will, at the ſame time, be ſhewn, that the nature of the Theocracy here delivered, and the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate in that diſpenſation, evidently obliges them to look for a more perfect revelation of God's will.

Thirdly, For the ſake of the Socinians; who will find, that *Chriſtianity* agrees neither with itſelf, nor with *Judaiſm*; neither with the diſpenſations of God, nor the declared purpoſe of his ſon's

son's mission, on their principle, of it's being only a *republication of the religion of Nature.*

In this demonstration, then, which we suppose very little short of mathematical certainty, and to which nothing but a mere physical possibiliy of the contrary, can be opposed, we demand only this single *postulatum*, that hath all the clearness of self-evidence; namely,

"That a skilful lawgiver, establishing a religion, "and civil policy, acts with certain views, "and for certain ends; and not capriciously, "or without purpose or design."

This being granted, we erect our demonstration on these three very clear and simple propositions:

1. "THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE "OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND "PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE "WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.
2. "THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE "MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF "ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BE- "LIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOC- "TRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIE- "TY.
3. "THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE "OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT "TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART "OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Propositions so clear and evident, that one would think, we might directly proceed to our conclusion,

That therefore the law of Moses is of divine original. Which, one or both of the two following syllogisms will evince.

I. Whatſoever religion and ſociety have no future ſtate for their ſupport, muſt be ſupported by an extraordinary providence:
The *Jewiſh* religion and ſociety had no future ſtate for their ſupport:
Therefore, the *Jewiſh* religion and ſociety were ſupported by an extraordinary providence.

And again, II. The ancient lawgivers univerſally believed that ſuch a religion could be ſupported only by an extraordinary providence.
Moses, who inſtituted ſuch a religion, was an ancient lawgiver.
Therefore, *Moſes* believed his religion was ſupported by an extraordinary providence.

But ſo great is man's love to paradox and system, that theſe, with all their evidence, had need of a very particular defence; Libertines and Unbelievers having denied the major propoſitions of both theſe *Syllogiſms*; and many Bigots amongſt believers, the minor of the firſt. For thoſe paſſions however different with regard to the objects that excite them, and to the ſubjects in which they are found, have this in common, that they never riſe but on the ruins of reaſon. The buſineſs of the Religioniſt being to eſtabliſh, if his underſtanding be narrowed, he contracts himſelf into *ſyſtem*: and that of the Infidel, to overturn; if his will be depraved, he, as naturally, runs out into *paradoxes*. Slaviſh, or licentious thinking, the two extremes of free enquiry, ſhuts them up from all inſtructive views, or makes them fly out beyond all reaſonable limits. And as extremes fall eaſily into one another,

other, we ſometimes ſee the oppoſite writers change hands: the Infidel, to ſhew ſomething like coherence in his paradoxes, repreſents them as the ſeveral parts of a *ſyſtem*; and the Religioniſt, to give a reliſh to his ſyſtem, powders it with *paradoxes:* in which arts two late *Hibernians*[e], the heroes of their ſeveral parties, were very notably practiſed and diſtinguiſhed.

It was not long then before I found, that the diſcovery of this important truth would ingage me in a full dilucidation of the *premiſes* of the two *Syllogiſms:* the *major* of both requiring a ſevere ſearch into the civil policy, religion, and philoſophy of ancient times; and the *minor*, a detailed explanation of the nature and genius of the *jewiſh* diſpenſation. The preſent volume is deſtined to the firſt part of this labour; and the following, to the ſecond. Where, in removing the objections on both ſides, which lie in our way, we ſhall be obliged to ſtretch our inquiries high and wide. But this, always, with an eye to the direction of our great maſter of reaſon[f], *to endeavour, throughout the body of this diſcourſe, that every former part may give ſtrength unto all that follow, and every latter bring ſome light unto all before.*

SECT. II.

OUR firſt propoſition, THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY, I ſhall endeavour to prove, from the nature of man, and the genius of civil ſociety.

[e] See the diſcourſe called *Nazarenus—An Epiſtolary Diſcourſe concerning the Immortality of the Soul.—Diſſertationes Cypricæ, &c.* [f] Hooker.

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The appetite of self-preservation being most indispensably necessary to every animal, nature hath made it the strongest of all. And though, in rational animals, reason alone might be supposed sufficient to answer the end, for which this appetite is bestowed on others, yet, the better to secure that end, nature hath given man, likewise, a very considerable share of the same instinct, with which she hath endowed brutes so admirably to provide for their preservation. Now whether it was some *plastic nature* that was here in fault, which *Bacon* says, *knows not how to keep a mean* [g], or, that it was all owing to the perverse use of human liberty, certain it is, that, borne away with the lust of gratifying this appetite, man, in a state of nature, soon ran into very violent excesses; and never thought he had sufficiently provided for his own being, till he had deprived his fellows of the free enjoyment of theirs. Hence, all those evils of mutual violence, rapine, and slaughter, that, in a state of nature, must needs abound amongst equals. Because, tho' man, in this state, was not without a law, which exacted punishment on evil doers, yet, the administration of that law not being in common hands, but either in the person offended, who being a party would be apt to inforce the punishment to excess; or else in the hands of every one, as the offence was against mankind in general, and affected the good of particulars not immediately or directly, would be executed remisly. And very often, where both these executors of the law of nature were dispos'd to be impartial and exact in the administration of justice, they would yet want power to enforce it. Which together, would so much inflame the evils above

[g] Modum tenere nescia est. *Augm. Scien.*

mentioned,

mentioned, that they would ſoon become as general, and as intolerable, as the *Hobbeiſts* repreſent them in that ſtate to be, were it not for the reſtraining principle of RELIGION, that kept men from running altogether, into the confuſion neceſſarily conſequent on the principle of inordinate ſelf-love. But yet religion could not operate with ſufficient efficacy, for want, as we obſerved before, of a common arbiter, who had impartiality enough fairly to apply the rule of right, and power to enforce its operations. So that theſe two PRINCIPLES were in endleſs jar; in which, juſtice generally came by the worſt. It was therefore found neceſſary to call in the CIVIL MAGISTRATE, as the ally of *religion*, to turn the balance.

Jura inventa metu injuſti fateare neceſſe eſt,
Tempora ſi faſtoſque velis evolvere mundi.

Thus was *ſociety* invented for a remedy againſt injuſtice; and a *magiſtrate*, by mutual conſent, appointed, to give a ſanction "to that common "meaſure, to which, reaſon teaches us, that crea-"tures of the ſame rank and ſpecies, promiſcuouſly "born to the ſame advantages of nature and to "the uſe of the ſame faculties, have all an equal "right[h]." Where it is to be obſerved, that though ſociety provides for all thoſe conveniences and accommodations of a more elegant life, which man muſt have been content to have done without, in a ſtate of nature; yet it is more than probable that theſe were never thought of when ſociety was firſt eſtabliſhed[i]; but that they were the mutual violences and injuſtices, at length become intolerable, that ſet

[h] Locke.

[i] Though the judicious *Hooker* thinks thoſe advantages were principally intended, when man firſt entred into ſociety: *this was the cauſe*, ſays he, *of mens uniting themſelves at firſt into*

men

men upon contriving this generous remedy: Becauſe evil felt hath a much ſtronger influence on the mind than good imagined; and the means of removing the one is much eaſier diſcovered, than the way to procure the other. And this, by the wiſe diſpoſition of nature; the avoiding evil being neceſſary to our exiſtence; not ſo, the procuring pleaſure. Beſides, the idea of thoſe unexperienced conveniences would be, at beſt, very obſcure: and how unable men would be, before trial, to judge that ſociety could beſtow them, we may gueſs by obſerving, how little, even now, the generality of men, who enjoy thoſe bleſſings, know or reflect that they are owing to ſociety, or how it procures them; becauſe it doth it neither immediately nor directly. But they would have a very lively ſenſe of evils felt; and would know that ſociety was the remedy, becauſe the very definition of the word would teach them how it becomes ſo. Yet becauſe *civil ſociety* ſo greatly improves human life, this improvement may be called, and not unaptly, the *ſecondary end* of that convention. Thus, as *Ariſtotle* accurately obſerves, in the words quoted above, that which was at firſt conſtituted for the ſake of *living*, is carried on for the ſake of *happy living*.

This is further ſeen from fact. For we find thoſe ſavage nations[k], which happen to live peace-

politique ſocieties. Eccl. Pol. l. i, § 10. His maſter *Ariſtotle*, though extremely conciſe, ſeems to hint, that this was but the ſecondary end of civil ſociety, and that That was the firſt, which we make to be ſo. His words are: γινομένη μὲν ἕν τε ζῆν ἕνεκεν, ἔσα ἢ τε οὖ ζῆν. *Pol.* lib. i. cap. 2.

[k] See §. V. iv. 2. where we have ſhewn, how it might happen that men, in a ſtate of nature, ſhould live together in peace: though we have there given the reaſons why (in fact) they very rarely do.

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ably out of ſociety, have never once entertained a thought of coming into it, though they perceive all the advantages of that improved condition, in their civilized neighbours, round about them.

Civil ſociety thus eſtabliſhed, from this time, as the poet ſings,

abſiſtere bello,
Oppida cæperunt munire, & ponere leges,
Ne quis fur eſſet, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

But as before bare RELIGION was no preſervative againſt moral diſorders; ſo now, SOCIETY alone, would be equally inſufficient.

I. 1. For *firſt*, its laws can have no further efficacy than to reſtrain men from open tranſgreſſion; while what is done amiſs in private, though equally tending to the public prejudice, eſcapes their cenſure; and man, ſince his entering into ſociety, would have greatly improved his practice in this ſecret way of malice. For now an effectual ſecurity being provided againſt *open violence*, and the inordinate principle of ſelf-love being ſtill the ſame, *ſecret craft* was the art to be improved; and the guards of ſociety inviting men to a careleſs ſecurity, what advantages it would afford to thoſe hidden miſchiefs which civil laws could not take notice of, is eaſy to conceive.

2. But, *ſecondly*, the influence of civil laws cannot, in all caſes, be extended even thus far, namely, to the reſtraining *open* tranſgreſſion. It cannot *then*, when the ſevere prohibition of one irregularity threatens the bringing on a greater: and this will always be the caſe when the irregularity is owing to the violence of the ſenſual paſſions. Hence it hath come to paſs, that no great and flouriſhing

flouriſhing community could ever puniſh *fornication*, in ſuch a ſort as its ill influence on ſociety was confeſſed to deſerve. Becauſe it was always found, that a ſevere reſtraint of this, opened the way to more flagitious luſts.

3. The very attention of civil laws to their principal object occaſions a further inefficacy in their operations. To underſtand this we muſt conſider, that the care of the ſtate is for the WHOLE, under which *individuals* are conſidered but in the ſecond place, as acceſſaries only to that *whole*; the conſequence of which is, that, for the ſake of the body's welfare, individuals are ſometimes left neglected; which happens when *general*, rather than *particular* views ingroſs the public attention. Now the care of *religion* is for PARTICULARS; and a *whole* has but the ſecond place in its concern. But this is only touched upon to ſhew, in paſſing, the natural remedy for the defects here explaining.

4. But this was not all, there was a further inefficacy in human laws: the legiſlature, in enquiring into the mutual duties of citizens, ariſing from their equality of condition, found thoſe duties to be of two kinds: the firſt, they intituled the duties of PERFECT OBLIGATION; becauſe civil laws could readily, and commodiouſly, and were, of neceſſity, required to enforce their obſervance. The other they called the duties of IMPERFECT OBLIGATION; not, that morality does not as ſtrongly exact them, but becauſe, civil laws could not conveniently take notice of them; and, that they were ſuppoſed not ſo immediately and vitally to affect the being of ſociety. Of this latter kind are *gratitude*, *hoſpitality*, *charity*, &c. concerning ſuch, civil laws, for theſe reaſons, are generally ſilent. And yet, though it may be true, that theſe duties, which human laws thus overlook,

look, may not ſo directly affect ſociety, it is very certain, that their violation brings as fatal, though not ſo ſwift deſtruction upon it, as that of the duties of *perfect obligation.* A very competent judge, and who too ſpeaks the ſentiment of antiquity in this matter, hath not ſcrupled to ſay: "Ut ſcias per ſe expetendam eſſe *grati animi* "*adfectionem*, per ſe fugienda res eſt *ingratum* "eſſe: quoniam nihil æque concordiam humani "generis diſſociat ac diſtrahit quam hoc vitium[k]."

5. But ſtill further, beſides theſe duties both of *perfect* and *imperfect* obligation for the encouraging and enforcing of which, civil ſociety was invented; ſociety itſelf begot and produced *a new ſet of duties*, which are, to ſpeak in the mode of the legiſlature, of *imperfect obligation:* the firſt and principal of which is that antiquated forgotten virtue called the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

6. But *laſtly*, Society not only introduced a new ſet of duties, but likewiſe increaſed and inflamed, to an infinite degree, thoſe inordinate appetites, for whoſe correction it was invented and introduced: like ſome kind of powerful medicines, that, at the very time they are working a cure, heighten the malignity of the diſeaſe. For our wants increaſe, in proportion as the arts of life advance and grow perfect. But in proportion to our wants, ſo is our uneaſineſs; — to our uneaſineſs, ſo our endeavours to remove it — to our endeavours, ſo the weakneſs of *human reſtraint.* Hence it is evident, that in a ſtate of nature, where little is conſulted but the ſupport of our being, our wants muſt be few, and our appetites, in proportion, weak; and that in civil ſociety, where the arts of life are cultivated, our wants muſt be many, and our appetites, in proportion, ſtrong.

[k] Seneca *de Benef.* lib. iv. cap. 18.

II. This

II. Thus far concerning the imperfection of civil ſociety, with regard to the adminiſtration of that power which it hath, namely of *puniſhing* the diſobedient. We ſhall next conſider its much greater imperfection with regard to that power which it wanteth; namely of *rewarding* the obedient.

The two great ſanctions of all law and command are REWARD and PUNISHMENT. Theſe are generally called the two hinges, on which all kinds of government turn. And ſo far is certain, and apparent to the common ſenſe of mankind, that whatever laws are not enforced by both theſe ſanctions, will never be obſerved in any degree ſufficient to carry on the ends of government.

Yet, I ſhall now ſhew, from the original conſtitution and nature of civil ſociety, that, it neither had, nor could enforce, the SANCTION OF REWARD.

But, to avoid miſtakes, I deſire it may be obſerved, that by *reward*, muſt needs here be meant, *ſuch as is conferred on every one for obeying the laws of his country*; not ſuch as is beſtowed on particulars, for any eminent ſervice: as by *puniſhment* we underſtand *that which is inflicted on every one for tranſgreſſing the laws*; not *that* which is impoſed on particulars, for neglecting to do all the ſervice in their power.

I make no doubt but this will be called a paradox; nothing being more common in the mouths of politicians[m], than *that the ſanctions of reward and puniſhment are the two pillars of civil government*; and all the modern *Utopias* and ancient

[m] Neque ſolum ut Solonis dictum uſurpem, qui & ſapientiſſimus fuit ex ſeptem, & legum ſcriptor ſolus ex ſeptem. Is *rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, præmio & pœnâ.* Cic. ad Brutum, Ep. 15.

ſyſtems

systems of speculative politics deriving the whole vigour of their laws from these two sources. In support then of my assertion, permit me to inforce the two following propositions:

I. That, by the *original constitution* of civil government, the sanction of rewards *was not* established.

II. That by the *nature* of civil government they *could not* be established by it.

I. The first proposition I prove thus. In entering into society, it was stipulated, between the magistrate and people, that *protection* and *obedience* should be the reciprocal conditions of each other. When, therefore, a citizen obeys the laws, that debt on society is discharged by the protection it affordeth him. But, in respect to disobedience, the proceeding is not analogous; (though protection, as the condition of obedience, implies the withdrawing of it, for disobedience;) and for these reasons: The effect of withdrawing protection must be either expulsion from the society, or the exposing the offender to all kind of licence, from others, in it. Society could not practise the first, without bringing the body politic into a consumption; nor the latter without throwing it into convulsions. Besides, the first is no punishment at all, but by accident; it being only the leaving one society to enter into another: and the second is an inadequate punishment; for though all obedience be the same, and so *uniform protection* a proper return for it, yet disobedience being of various kinds and degrees, the withdrawing protection, in this latter sense, would be too great a punishment for some crimes, and too small for others.

This being the case, it was stipulated that the transgressor should be subject to pecuniary mulcts,

corporal infliction, mutilation of members, and capital severities. Hence arose the sanction, and *only sanction* of civil laws: for, that protection is no reward, in the sense that these are punishments, is plain from hence, that the one is of the essence of society itself; the other an occasional adjunct. But this will further appear by considering the opposite to protection, which is *expulsion*, or banishment; for this is the *natural* consequence of withdrawing protection. Now this, as we said, is no punishment but by accident: and so the state understood it; as we may collect, even from their manner of employing it *as a punishment* on offenders: for banishment is of universal use, with other punishments, in all societies. Now where withdrawing protection is inflicted as a punishment, the practice of all states hath been to retain their right to obedience from the banished member; though, according to the nature of the thing considered alone, that right be really discharged; obedience and protection, as we observed, being reciprocal. But it was necessary all states should act in this manner when they inflicted exile as a punishment; it being no punishment but by accident, when the claim to subjection was remitted with it. They had a *right* to act thus; because it was inflicted on an *offender*; who by his very offence had forfeited all claim of advantage from that *reciprocal condition*[n].

[n] This will lead us to determine an embarassed question long disputed amongst writers on the law of nature and nations; namely, *whether a banish'd man be a subject of the state from which he hath been expelled?* *Hobbs* and *Pufendorf* holding the negative; and *Tully*, with the excellent Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, the affirmative. The former, in support of their opinion, say, that by the very act of expulsion, the state gives up and renounces all right of subjection: the latter only appeal to the practice of societies; the reason of which practice, as here given, seems to determine the question in their favour.

II. The

II. The ſecond propoſition is, that by the nature of civil government, *the ſanction of rewards could not be enforced by it:* My reaſon is, becauſe ſociety could neither diſtinguiſh the objects of its favour; nor reward them, though they were diſtinguiſhed.

I. Firſt, *ſociety could not diſtinguiſh the objects of its favour.* To inflict puniſhment, there is no need of knowing the motives of the offender; but judicially to confer reward on the obedient, there is.

All that civil judicatures do in puniſhing is to find whether the act was *wilfully* committed. They enquire not into the intention or motives any further, or otherwiſe than as they are the marks of *a voluntary act:* and having found it ſo, they concern themſelves no more with the man's motives or principles of acting; but puniſh, without ſcruple, in confidence of the offender's demerit. And this with very good reaſon; becauſe no one of a ſound mind, can be ignorant of the principal offences againſt right, or of the malignity of thoſe offences, but by ſome ſottiſh negligence that hath hindered his information; or ſome brutal paſſion that hath prejudiced his judgment; both which are highly faulty, and deſerve civil puniſhment.

It is otherwiſe in rewarding abſtinence from tranſgreſſion. Here the motive muſt be conſidered: becauſe as *merely doing ill*, i. e. without any *particular* bad motive, deſerves puniſhment, a crime in the caſe of wrong judgment being ever neceſſarily inferred; ſo *merely abſtaining from ill*, i. e. without any *particular* good motive, cannot, for that very reaſon, have any merit.

In *judicially rewarding*, therefore, the *motives* muſt be known; but human judicatures cannot know them but by accident: it is only that tribunal, which ſearches the heart, that can penetrate

thus far. We conclude, therefore, *that reward cannot, properly, be the ſanction of human laws.*

If it ſhould be ſaid, that though rewards cannot be equitably adminiſtred, as puniſhments may, yet, nothing hinders but that, for the good of ſociety, all who obſerve the laws be rewarded, as all who tranſgreſs the laws are puniſhed? The anſwer will lead us to the proof of the ſecond part of this propoſition.

2. That *ſociety could not* reward, *tho' it ſhould* diſcover *the objects of its favour*; the reaſon is, becauſe no ſociety can ever find a fund ſufficient for that purpoſe, without raiſing it on the people as a tax, to pay it back to them as a reward.

But the univerſal practice of ſociety confirms this reaſoning, and is explained by it; the ſanction of *puniſhments* only having, in all ages and places, been employed to ſecure the obſervance of civil laws. This was ſo remarkable a fact, that it could not eſcape the notice of a certain admirable wit and ſtudious obſerver of men and manners; who ſpeaks of it as an univerſal defect: *Although we uſually* (ſays he) *call reward and puniſhment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never obſerve this maxim to be put in practice by any nation except that of* Lilliput[o]. Thus he introduceth an account of the laws and cuſtoms of an *Utopian* conſtitution of his own framing; and, for that matter, as good, perhaps, as any of the reſt: and, had he intended it as a ſatire againſt ſuch chimerical commonwealths, nothing could have been more juſt. For all theſe political romancers, from *Plato* to this author, make civil rewards and puniſhments *the two hinges of government*.

I have often wondered what it was, that could lead them from fact, and univerſal practice, in ſo-

[o] *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. i. p. 97.

funda-

fundamental a point. But without doubt it was this, the design of such sort of writings is to give a perfect pattern of civil government; and to supply the fancied defects in real societies. The end of government coming first under consideration; and the general practice of society seeming to declare this end to be only, what in truth it is, *security to our temporal liberty and property*; the simplicity of it displeased, and the plan appeared defective. They imagined, that, by enlarging the bottom, they should ennoble the structure; and, therefore, formed a romantic project of making civil society serve for all the good purposes it was even accidentally capable of producing. And thus, instead of giving us a true picture of government, they jumbled together all sorts of societies into one; and confounded the *religious*, the *literary*, the *mercantile*, the *convivial*, with the CIVIL. Whoever reads them carefully, if indeed they be worth reading carefully, will find that the errors they abound in are all of this nature; and that they arise from the losing, or never having had a true idea of the simple plan of civil government: a circumstance which, as we have shewn elsewhere[q], hath occasioned many wrong judgments concerning it. No wonder, then, that this mistake concerning the *end* of civil society, drew after it others, concerning the *means*; and this, amongst the rest, that *reward was one of the sanctions of human laws.*

On the whole then, it appears, that civil society hath not, in itself, the *sanction of rewards*, to secure the observance of its laws. So true, in this sense, is the observation of St. *Paul*, that THE LAW WAS NOT MADE FOR THE RIGHTEOUS, BUT FOR THE UNRULY AND DISOBEDIENT.

[q] See *The Alliance between Church and State.*

But it being evident, that the joint ſanctions of rewards and puniſhments are but juſt ſufficient to ſecure the tolerable obſervance of right (the common falſe opinion, that theſe are the two hinges of government ariſing from that evidence) it follows, that, AS RELIGION ONLY CAN SUPPLY THE SANCTION OF REWARDS, WHICH SOCIETY NEEDS, AND HATH NOT; RELIGION IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Thus, on the whole we ſee, I. That ſociety, by its own proper power, cannot provide for the obſervance of above one third part of moral duties; and of that third but imperfectly. We ſee likewiſe, how, by the peculiar influence of its nature, it enlarges the duty of the citizen, at the ſame time that it leſſens his natural ability to perform it.

II. We ſee further, which is a thing of far greater conſequence, that ſociety totally wants one of thoſe two powers which are owned by all to be the neceſſary hinges on which government turns, and without which it cannot be ſupported.

To ſupply theſe wants and imperfections, ſome other coactive power muſt be added, that hath its influence on the mind of man; to keep ſociety from running back into confuſion. But there is no other than the power of RELIGION; which, teaching an over-ruling providence, the rewarder of good men, and the puniſher of ill, can oblige to the duties of *imperfect obligation*, which human laws overlook: and teaching alſo, that this providence is omniſcient, that it ſees the moſt ſecret actions and intentions of men, and hath given laws for the perfecting their nature, will oblige to thoſe duties of *perfect obligation*, which human laws cannot reach, or ſufficiently enforce.

Thus we have explained in general, the mutual aid *religion* and *civil policy* lend to one another:

not

not unlike that which two allies, in the ſame quarrel, may reciprocally receive againſt a common enemy: While one party is cloſely preſſed, the other comes up to its relief; diſengages the firſt; gives it time to rally, and repair its force: By this time the aſſiſting party is puſhed in its turn, and needs the aid of that which it relieved; which is now at hand to repay the obligation. From henceforth the two parties ever act in conjunction; and, by that means, keep the common enemy at a ſtand.

Having thus proved the ſervice of religion in general, to ſociety; and ſhewn after what manner it is performed, we are enabled to proceed to the proof of the propoſition in queſtion: For by what hath been ſaid, it appears that religion does this ſervice ſolely, *as it teaches a providence, the rewarder of good men, and the puniſher of ill:* ſo that though it were poſſible, as I think it is not[q], that there could be ſuch a thing as a religion not founded on the doctrine of a providence; yet, it is evident, ſuch a religion would be of no manner of ſervice to ſociety. Whatſoever therefore is neceſſary for the ſupport of this doctrine is mediately neceſſary for the well-being of ſociety. Now the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is abſolutely and indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſupport of the general doctrine of providence, under its preſent diſpenſations in this life; as we ſhall now ſhew.

Religion eſtabliſhing a providence, the rewarder of virtue, and the puniſher of vice, men naturally expect to find the conſtant and unequivocal marks of its deciſions. But the hiſtory of mankind,

[q] St. *Paul* ſuppoſes there can no more be a religion without a providence, than without a God: *He that cometh to God, muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.*

nay even of every one's own neighbourhood, would ſoon inform the moſt indiligent obſerver, that the affairs of men wear a form of great irregularity: the ſcene, that ever and anon preſents itſelf, being of diſtreſſed virtue, and proſperous wickedneſs; which unavoidably brings the embaraſſed religioniſt to the neceſſity of giving up his belief, or finding out the ſolution of theſe untoward appearances. His firſt reflexion might perhaps be with the poet[r]:

omnia rebar
Conſilio firmata Dei; qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverſo tempore naſci,—
Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi,
Adſpicerem, lætoſque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rurſus labefacta CADEBAT
RELIGIO.

But on ſecond thoughts, reaſon, that, from the admirable frame and harmony of the material univerſe, taught him, that there muſt needs be a ſuperintending providence, to influence that order which all its parts preſerve in their continued revolutions, would ſoon inform him of the abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that the ſame care did not extend to man, a creature of a far nobler nature than the moſt conſiderable of inanimate beings. And therefore human affairs not being diſpenſed, at preſent, agreeably to that ſuperintendence, he muſt conclude, that man ſhall exiſt after death, to be brought to a future reckoning in another life, where all accounts will be ſet even, and all the preſent obſcurities and perplexities in the ways of providence unfolded and explained. From hence religion acquires reſiſtleſs force and ſplendor; and riſes on a ſolid and unſhaken baſis[s].

[r] *Claud.* [s] Hear an unexceptionable evidence to this whole matter: Et quidem (ſays the free-thinking Lord *Herbert*)

Now

Now this doctrine of a FUTURE STATE being the only ſupport of religion, under the preſent and ordinary diſpenſations of providence, we conclude, which was what we had to prove, that the *inculcating this* doctrine *is* NECESSARY *to the well-being of ſociety.*

That it was the general ſentiment of mankind, we ſhall ſee hereafter; when it will be ſhewn, that there never was, in any time or place, a civilized people (the *jewiſh* only excepted) who did not found their religion on this doctrine, as being conſcious it could not be ſuſtained without it. And as for the neceſſity of religion itſelf to ſociety, the very enemies of all religion are the loudeſt to confeſs it: For, from this apparent truth, the atheiſt of old formed his famous argument againſt the divine original of religion; which makes ſo great a figure in the common ſyſtems of infidelity. Here then, even on our adverſary's confeſſion, we might reſt our cauſe; but that we find (ſo inconſtant and perverſe is irreligion) ſome modern apologiſts for atheiſm have abandoned the ſyſtem of their predeceſſors, and choſe rather to give up an argument againſt the divine original of religion, than acknowledge the civil

præmium bonis, & ſupplicium malis, vel hac in vita, vel poſt hanc vitam dari, ſtatuebant Gentiles.—Nihil mage congruum naturæ divinæ eſſe docuerant, tum philoſophorum tum theologorum Gentilium præcipuorum ſcholæ, quam ut bona bonis, mala malis remetiretur Deus. Cæterum quum id quoque cernerent, quemadmodum viri boni calamitatibus miſeriiſque oppreſſi heic jacerent; mali improbique e contra lautitiis omnibus affluerent; certiſſimis ex juſtitia bonitateque divina argumentis deductis, bonis poſt hanc vitam præmium condignum, malis pœnam dari credebant: SECUS ENIM SI ESSET, NULLAM NEQUE JUSTITIÆ NEQUE BONITATIS DIVINÆ RATIONEM CONSTARE POSSE. *De religione Gentilium,* cap. *Præmium vel pœna.*

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uſe of it. Which with much frankneſs and confidence they have adventured to deny.

Theſe therefore having endeavoured to overturn the very ground we go upon, in proof of our propoſition, it will be proper to examine their pretenſions.

SECT. III.

THE three great advocates for this paradox are commonly reckoned POMPONATIUS, CARDAN, and BAYLE; who are put together, without diſtinction: Whereas nothing is more certain than that, although *Cardan* and *Bayle* indeed defended it, *Pomponatius* was of a very different opinion: but *Bayle* had entered him into this ſervice; and ſo great is *Bayle's* authority, that no body perceived the deluſion. It will be but juſtice then to give *Pomponatius* a fair hearing, and let him ſpeak for himſelf.

This learned *Italian*, a famous Peripatetic of the fifteenth century, wrote a treatiſe[t] to prove that, on the principles of *Ariſtotle*, it could not be proved that the ſoul was immortal: But the doctrine of the mortality of the ſoul being generally thought to have very pernicious conſequences, he conceived it lay upon him to ſay ſomething to that objection. In his xiii^th^ chapter, therefore, he enumerates thoſe conſequences; and in the xiv^th^,

[t] *De Immortalitate Animæ*, printed in 12mo *An.* 1534. It is of him chiefly that the celebrated *Melchior Canus* ſeems to ſpeak, in the following words: "Audivimus Italos quoſ-"dam, qui ſuis & *Ariſtoteli* & Averroï tantum temporis dant, "quantum ſacris literis ii, qui maximè ſacra doctrina delectan-"tur; tantum vero fidei, quantum Apoſtolis & Evangeliſtis "ii qui maximè ſunt in Chriſti doctrinam religioſi. Ex quo "nata ſunt in Italia peſtifera illa dogmata *de mortalitate animi*, "& divina circa res humanas improvidentia, ſi verum eſt quod "dicitur." *De Ariſt. diſput.* l. x. *De locis*, c. 5.

gives

gives diſtinct anſwers to each of them. That which ſuppoſeth his doctrine to affect ſociety, is expreſſed in theſe words: "*Obj.* 2. In the ſecond "place, a man perſuaded of the mortality of the "ſoul ought in no caſe, even in the moſt urgent, "to prefer death to life: And ſo, fortitude, which "teaches us to deſpiſe death, and, when our "country, or the public good requires, even "to chuſe it would be no more. Nor on ſuch "principles ſhould we hazard life for a friend: on "the contrary, we ſhould commit any wicked-"neſs rather than undergo the loſs of it: which is "contrary to what *Ariſtotle* teaches in his ethics[v]." His reply to this, in the following chapter, is that *virtue requires we ſhould die for our country or our friends; and that virtue is never ſo perfect as when it brings no dower with it:* But then he ſubjoins, "Philoſophers, and the learned, only know "what pleaſures the practice of virtue can pro-"cure; and what miſery attends ignorance and "vice:—but men not underſtanding the excel-"lence of virtue, and deformity of vice, would "commit any wickedneſs rather than ſubmit to "death: to bridle therefore their unruly appetites, "they were taught to be influenced by hope of "reward, and fear of puniſhment[w]." This is enough to ſhew what *Pomponatius* thought of the

[v] Secundò, quia ſtante animi humani mortalitate, homo in nullo caſu, quantumcunque urgentiſſimo, deberet eligere mortem: & ſic removeretur fortitudo, quæ præcipit contemnere mortem, & quod pro patria & bono publico debemus mortem eligere: neque pro amico deberemus exponere animam noſtram; imo quodcunque ſcelus & nefas perpetrare magis quam mortem ſubire: quod eſt contra Ariſt. 3 Ethic. & 9 ejusdem. P. 99.

[w] Soli enim philoſophi & ſtudioſi, ut dicit Ariſt. 6. Ethic. ſciunt quantam delectationem generent virtutes, & quantam miſeriam ignorantia & vitia.—Sed quod homines non cognoſcentes excellentiam virtutis & fœditatem vitii, omne ſcelus

neceſſity of religion to the ſtate. He gives up ſo much of the objection as urges the ill conſequence, of the doctrine of the mortality, on mankind in general; but in ſo doing doth not betray the cauſe he undertook: which was to prove that the belief of the mortality of the ſoul would have no ill influence on the practice of a learned Peripatetic: not that it would have no ill influence, on the groſs body of mankind, to the prejudice of ſociety. This appears from the nature and deſign of the treatiſe; written entirely on peripatetic principles, to explain a point in that philoſophy: by which explanation, whoever was perſuaded of the mortality of the ſoul, muſt give his aſſent on thoſe principles; principles only fitted to influence learned men. It was his buſineſs therefore to examine, what effects this belief would have on ſuch, and on ſuch only. And this, it muſt be owned, he hath done with dexterity enough. But that this belief would be moſt pernicious to the body of mankind in general, he confeſſes with the utmoſt ingenuity. And as his own words are the fulleſt proof imaginable, that he thought with the reſt of the world, concerning the influence of religion, and particularly of the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, on ſociety, I ſhall beg leave to tranſcribe them at length. "There are ſome men of "ſo ingenuous and well framed a nature, that they "are brought to the practice of virtue from the "ſole conſideration of its dignity; and are kept "from vice on the bare proſpect of its baſeneſs: "but ſuch excellent perſons are very rare. Others "there are of a ſomewhat leſs heroic turn of mind;

perpetrarent, priuſquam mori: quare ad refrænandum diras hominum cupiditates, data eſt ſpes præmii & timor punitionis. P. 119.

"and

" and theſe, beſides the dignity of virtue, and the " baſeneſs of vice, are worked upon by fame and " honours, by infamy and diſgrace, to ſhun evil " and perſevere in good: Theſe are of the ſecond " claſs of men. Others again are kept in order " by the hope of ſome real benefit, or the dread " of corporal puniſhment; wherefore that ſuch " may follow virtue, the politician hath allured " them by dignities, poſſeſſions, and things of the " like nature; and hath inflicted mulcts, degrada- " tions, mutilations, and capital puniſhments, to " deter them from wickedneſs. There are yet " others of ſo intractable and perverſe a ſpirit, " that nothing of this can move them, as daily " experience ſhews us; for theſe, therefore, it " was, that the politician contrived *the doctrine of* " *a future ſtate*; where eternal rewards are reſerved " for the virtuous, and eternal puniſhments, which " have the more powerful influence of the two, " for the wicked. For the greater part of thoſe " who live well, do ſo, rather for fear of the pu- " niſhment, than out of appetite to the reward: " for miſery is better known to man, than that " immeaſurable good which religion promiſeth: " And therefore as this laſt contrivance may be " directed to promote the welfare of men of all " conditions and degrees, the legiſlator, intent " upon public good, and ſeeing a general propen- " ſity to evil, eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the im- " mortality of the ſoul. Little ſolicitous for " truth, in all this, but intent only on utility, " that he might draw mankind to virtue. Nor " is he to be blamed: for as the phyſician deludes " his patient in order to reſtore his health, ſo " the lawgiver invents apologues to form the " manners of his people. Indeed were all of that " noble turn of mind with thoſe enumerated under

" the

" the firſt claſs, then would they all, even on " the ſuppoſition of the ſoul's mortality, exactly " perform their mutual duties to one another. " *But as there are, upon the matter, none of this* " *diſpoſition*, he muſt, of neceſſity, have recourſe " to arts[x], more fitted to the general diſpoſition."

After all this, it is ſurprizing that Mr. *Bayle* ſhould ſo far miſtake this book, as to imagine the author argues in it *againſt the uſefulneſs of religion to ſociety:* eſpecially, when we conſider that Mr. *Bayle* appears to have examined the book ſo nearly as to be able to confute a common error

[x] Aliqui ſunt homines ingenui, & bene inſtitutæ naturæ, adeo quod ad virtutem inducuntur ex ſola virtutis nobilitate, & a vitio retrahuntur ex ſola ejus fœditate: & hi optimè diſpoſiti ſunt, licet perpauci ſunt. Aliqui vero ſunt minus bene diſpoſiti; & hi præter nobilitatem virtutis, & fœditatem vitii, ex præmiis, laudibus, & honoribus; ex pœnis, vituperiis, & infamia, ſtudioſa operantur, & vitia fugiunt; & hi in ſecundo gradu ſunt. Aliqui vero propter ſpem alicujus boni, & timore pœnæ corporalis ſtudioſi efficiuntur: quare, ut tales virtutem conſequantur, ſtatuunt politici vel aurum, vel dignitatem, vel aliquid tale; ut vitia vero fugiant, ſtatuunt vel in pecunia, vel in honore, vel in corpore, ſeu mutilando membrum, ſeu occidendo puniri. Quidam vero ex ferocitate & perverſitate naturæ, nullo horum moventur, ut quotidiana docet experientia; ideo poſuerunt virtuoſis in alia vita præmia æterna, vitioſis vero æterna damna, quæ maxime terrerent: majorque pars hominum, ſi bonum operatur, magis ex metu æterni damni quam ſpe æterni boni operatur bonum, cum damna ſunt magis nobis cognita quam illa bona æterna: & quoniam hoc ultimum ingenium omnibus hominibus poteſt prodeſſe, cujuſcunque gradus ſint, reſpiciens legiſlator pronitatem viarum ad malum, intendens communi bono, ſanxit animam eſſe immortalem, non curans de veritate, ſed tantum de probitate, ut inducat homines ad virtutem. Neque accuſandus eſt politicus: ſicut namque medicus multa fingit, ut ægro ſanitatem reſtituat; ſic politicus apologos format, ut cives rectificet.—Si omnes homines eſſent in illo primo gradu enumerato, ſtante etiam animorum mortalitate, ſtudioſi fierent; ſed quaſi nulli ſunt illius diſpoſitionis; quare aliis ingeniis incedere neceſſe fuit.—Pag. 123, 124, 125.

concerning

concerning it, namely, *that it was wrote to prove the mortality of the soul:* Whereas he shews, that it was wrote only to prove, that, on the principles of *Aristotle*, neither that, nor the contrary, could be demonstrated. But let us hear him: "That "which *Pomponatius* hath replied to the reasoning "borrowed from hence, that the doctrine of the "mortality of the soul would invite men to all sort "of crimes, deserves to be considered[y]." And then he produces those arguments of *Pomponatius*, which we have given above, *of the natural excellence of virtue, and deformity of vice*; *that happiness consists in the practice of the one, and misery in that of the other, &c.* These he calls *poor solutions:* Indeed *poor* enough, had it been, as Mr. *Bayle* supposes, *Pomponatius's* design to prove that the doctrine of the *mortality* of the soul did not invite the generality of men to wickedness: for the account given by *Pomponatius* himself of the origin of the contrary doctrine, shews, that, but for it, they would have run headlong into vice. But supposing this Peripatetic's design to be, as indeed it was, to prove that the doctrine of the *mortality* would have no ill influence on the learned followers of *Aristotle*, then these arguments, which Mr. *Bayle* calls *poor ones*, will be found to have their weight. But he goes on, and tells us, *that* Pomponatius *brings a better argument from fact, where he takes notice of several, who denied the immortality of the soul, and yet lived as well as their believing neighbours.* This is indeed a good argument to the purpose, for which it is employed by *Pomponatius*; but whether it be so to that, for which,

[y] Ce que Pomponace a repondu à la raison empruntée de ce que le dogme de la mortalité de l'ame porteroit les hommes à toutes sortes de crimes, est digne de consideration. *Dict. Hist. & Crit.* Art. (Pomponace) Rem. (H.)

Mr.

Mr. *Bayle* imagined, he employed it, ſhall be conſidered hereafter, when we come to meet with it again in this writer's apology for atheiſm. But Mr. *Bayle* was ſo full of his own *favourite queſtion*, that he did not give a due attention to *Pomponatius's*; and having, as I obſerved above, refuted a vulgar error with regard to this famous tract, and imagining that the impiety, ſo generally charged on it, was ſolely founded in that error, he goes on inſulting the enemies of *Pomponatius* in this manner: "If the charge of impiety, of which "*Pomponatius* hath been accuſed, was only found-"ed on his book *of the immortality of the ſoul*, we "muſt needs ſay there was never any accuſation "more impertinent or a ſtronger inſtance of the "iniquitous perverſity of the perſecutors of the "philoſophers[z]." But *Pomponatius* will not be ſo eaſily ſet clear: For let him think as he would concerning the ſoul, yet the account he gives of the origin of religion, as the contrivance of ſtateſmen, produced above, from this very tract *De immortalitate animæ*, is ſo highly impious, that his enemies will be hardly perſuaded to give it a ſofter name than downright atheiſm. Nor is it impiety in general, of which, we endeavour to acquit him, but only that ſpecies of it, which teaches *religion to be uſeleſs to ſociety*. And this we think we have done; although it be by ſhewing him to have run into the oppoſite extreme, which pretends *religion to be the creature of politicks*.

Cardan comes next to be conſidered: and him no body hath injured. He, too, is under *Bayle's* deluſion, concerning *Pomponatius:* For, writing

[z] Si l'on n'a fondé les impietez, dont on l'accuſe, que ſur ſon livre *de l'immortalité de l'ame*, il n'y eut jamais d'accuſation plus impertinente, que celle-la, ni qui ſoit une marque plus expreſſe de l'entetement inique des perſecuteurs des philoſophes.

on

on the ſame ſubject[a], he borrows the peripatetic's arguments to prove that *religion was even pernicious to ſociety*. This was ſo bold a ſtroke, that Mr. *Bayle*, who generally follows him pretty cloſely, drops him here: Nor do I know that he ever had a ſecond, except it was the unhappy philoſopher of *Malmſbury*; who ſcorning to argue upon the matter, imperiouſly pronounced, that he who preſumed to propagate religion in a ſociety, was guilty of the crime of *Leſe Majeſty*, as introducing a power ſuperior to the *Leviathan's*. But it would be unpardonable to keep the reader much longer on this poor lunatic *Italian*, *in whom*, as Mr. *Bayle* pleaſantly obſerves, *ſenſe was*, *at beſt*, *but an appendix to his folly*[b]. Beſides, there is little in that tract, but what he ſtole from *Pomponatius*; the concluſiveneſs of which, to *Cardan's* paradox, hath been already conſidered; or what Mr. *Bayle* hath borrowed from him; the force of which ſhall be examined hereafter. But that little is ſo peculiarly his own, that as no other can claim the property, ſo no one hath hitherto uſurped the uſe. Which

[a] *De immortalitate animorum liber*, Lugd. ap. Gryph. 1545.

[b] The charming picture he draws of himſelf, and which he excuſes no otherwiſe than by laying the fault on his ſtars, will hardly prejudice any one in favour of his opinions. How far it reſembles any other of the brotherhood, they beſt know, who have examined the genius of modern infidelity. However thus he ſpeaks of his own amiable turn of Mind: "In diem "viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, injuriæ illatæ "memorem, invidum, triſtem, inſidiatorem, proditorem, ma-"gum, incantatorem, ſuorum oſorem, turpi libidini deditum, "ſolitarium, inamœnum, auſterum; ſponte etiam divinantem, "zelotypum, obſcœnum, laſcivum, maledicum, varium, an-"cipitem, impurum, calumniatorem, &c." We have had many *free-thinkers*, but few ſuch *free-ſpeakers*. But though theſe ſort of writers are not uſed to give us ſo direct a picture of themſelves, yet it has been obſerved, that they have unawares copied from their own tempers, in the ungracious drawings they have made of HUMAN NATURE and RELIGION.

yet, however, is remarkable: for there is no trash so worthless, but what some time or other finds a place in a free-thinker's system. We will not despair then but that this dirty rubbish may one day have an honourable station in some of these fashionable fabricks. And, not to hinder its speedy advancement, I shall here present it to the reader, in its full force, without answer or reply. He brings the following argument to prove that the doctrine of the *immortality* of the soul is even destructive to society: "From this "flattering notion of a future state, ill men get "opportunity to compass their wicked schemes: "and, on the same account, good men suffer them-"selves to be injuriously treated. Civil laws, "relying on this fanciful assistance, relax their "necessary severity; and thus is the opinion pro-"ductive of much mischief to mankind[c]." And then, by another argument as good, he shews the benefits accruing to the state from the belief of the soul's *mortality*: "Those who maintain that "the soul dies with the body, must needs be, by "their principles, honester men than others, be-"cause they have a peculiar interest in preserving "their reputation; that being the only future pro-"perty they pretend to: And this profession being "generally esteemed as scandalous as that of usury, "such men will be most exact and scrupulous in "point of honour, as your usurer, to keep up "the credit of his calling, is of all men the most "religious observer of his word[d]."

SECT. IV.

MR. Bayle, the last espouser of this paradox, is of a very different character from these

[c] *De immortalitate animorum*, cap. ii. [d] Cap. xxxiii. ejusd. tract.

Italian

Italian sophists: A writer, who, to the utmost strength and clearness of *reasoning*, hath added all the liveliness, and delicacy of *wit:* who pervading human nature at his ease, struck into the province of *paradox*, as an exercise for the unwearied vigour of his mind: who, with a soul superior to the sharpest attacks of fortune, and a heart practised to the best philosophy, had not yet enough of real greatness, to overcome that last foible of superior minds, the temptation of honour, which the *academic exercise of wit* is conceived to bring to its professors.

A writer of this character will deserve a particular regard: For *paradoxes*, which in the hands of a *Toland* or a *Collins* end in rank offensive impiety, will, under the management of a *Bayle*, always afford something for use or curiosity: Thus, in the very work we are about to examine[e], the many admirable observations on the nature and genius of polytheism, happen to be a full answer to all which the author of *Christianity as old as the creation* hath advanced against the use of revelation. For as a skilful chemist, though disappointed in his *grand magisterium*, yet often discovers, by the way, some useful and noble medicament; so the ignorant pretender, in the same art, not only loses his labour, but fills all about him with the poisonous steams of *sublimate*.

The *professed* design of Mr. *Bayle's* work is to enquire, *which is least hurtful to mankind, ancient idolatry, or modern atheism:* And had he confined himself to that subject, we had had no concern with him, but should have left him in the hands

[e] Pensées diverses, ecrites à un docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la comete qui parût au Mois de Decembre, 1680. &--- Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez, &c.

of Meſſ. *Jacquelot* and *Bernard*. I freely own they are both ſtark naught: All the difference is, that atheiſm directly excludes and deſtroys the *true* ſenſe of moral right and wrong; and polytheiſm ſets up a *falſe* ſpecies of it.

But the more particular, though leſs avowed, purpoſe of this elaborate treatiſe is to prove, that *atheiſm is not deſtructive of ſociety*; and here he falls under our notice; no diſtinct anſwer, that I know of, having been yet attempted to this part of his performance.

His arguments are occaſionally, and ſo without any method, interſperſed throughout that large work: But, to give them all the advantage they are capable of, I have here collected and diſpoſed them in ſuch order, that they mutually ſupport, and come in to the aid of one another.

It had been generally eſteemed a proof of the deſtructive nature of atheiſm to ſociety, that *that principle excludes the knowledge of moral good and evil*; ſuch knowledge being, as will be ſeen, poſterior to the knowledge of a god. His firſt argument therefore for the *innocence of atheiſm* is,

I. "That an atheiſt may have an idea of the "moral difference between good and evil, becauſe "atheiſts, as well as theiſts, may comprehend the "firſt principles of morals and metaphyſics, from "which this difference may be deduced. And in "fact (he ſays) both the *Epicurean* atheiſt, who "denied the providence of God, and the *Stratonic* "atheiſt, who denied his Being, had this idea[f]."

This often repeated argument is ſo looſely expreſſed, that it is capable of many meanings; in

[f] Voiez les Penſées diverſes, cap. clxxviii. & ſuiv. & l'addition à ces Penſées, cap. iv. Reponſe à la 10. & à la 13. objections, & la Continuation des Penſ. div. cap. cxliii.

ſome

ſome of which the aſſertion is true, but not to the purpoſe; in others to the purpoſe, but not true. Therefore before any preciſe anſwer can be given to it, it will be neceſſary to trace up moral duty to its firſt principles. And though an enquiry of this ſort ſhould not prove the moſt entertaining either to myſelf or my reader, it may be found however to deſerve our pains. For a ſpirit of diſpute and refinement hath ſo entangled and confounded all our concluſions on a ſubject, in itſelf, very clear and intelligible, that I am perſuaded, was MORALITY herſelf, of which the *ancients* made a Goddeſs, to appear perſonally amongſt men, and be queſtioned concerning her birth, ſhe would be tempted to anſwer as *Homer* does in *Lucian*, that her commentators had ſo learnedly embarraſſed the diſpute, that ſhe was now as much at a loſs as they to account for her original.

To proceed therefore with all poſſible brevity: Each animal hath its *inſtinct* implanted by nature to direct it to its greateſt good. Amongſt theſe, man hath his; to which modern philoſophers have given the name of

1. The MORAL SENSE: whereby we conceive and feel a pleaſure in right, and a diſtaſte and averſion to wrong, prior to all reflexion on their natures, or their conſequences. This is the firſt inlet to the *adequate idea of morality*; and, plainly, the moſt extenſive of all; the Atheiſt as well as Theiſt having it. When inſtinct had gone thus far,

2. The *reaſoning faculty* improved upon its dictates: For, reflecting men, naturally led to examine the foundation of this *moral ſenſe*, ſoon diſcovered that there were real eſſential differences in the qualities of human actions, eſtabliſhed by nature; and, conſequently, that the love and hatred

excited by the *moral ſenſe* were not capricious in their operations; for, that the eſſential properties of their objects had a SPECIFIC DIFFERENCE. Reaſon having gone thus far, and thus far too it might conduct the *Stratonic* atheiſt, it ſtopped; and found ſomething was now wanting whereon to eſtabliſh the MORALITY, properly ſo called, of actions, that is, an OBLIGATION on men to perform ſome, and to avoid others; and that, for this, there was need of calling in other principles to its aſſiſtance: Becauſe nothing can thus *oblige* but

3. A *ſuperior* WILL: And ſuch a *will* could not be found till the being and attributes of God were eſtabliſhed; but was diſcovered with them.

Hence aroſe, and only from hence, a MORAL DIFFERENCE. From this time human actions became the ſubject of *obligation*, and not till now: For though INSTINCT perceived a difference in actions; and REASON diſcovered *that* difference to be founded in the nature of things; yet it was WILL only that could make a compliance with that difference a DUTY.

On theſe three principles therefore, namely *the moral ſenſe*, *the eſſential difference in human actions*, and the *will of God*, is built the whole edifice of *practical morality:* Each of which hath its diſtinct motive to enforce it; compliance with *the moral ſenſe* exciting a pleaſurable ſenſation; compliance with the *eſſential differences of things* promoting the order and harmony of the univerſe; and compliance with the *will of God* obtaining an abundant reward.

This, when attentively conſidered, can never fail of affecting us with the moſt lively ſenſe of God's goodneſs to mankind, who, graciouſly reſpecting the imbecillity of man's *nature*, the flowneſs of his *reaſon*, and the violence of his *paſſions*, hath

hath been pleased to afford three different excitements to the practice of virtue; that men of all ranks, constitutions, and educations, might find their account in one or other of them; something that would hit their *palate*, satisfy their *reason*, or subdue their *will*. The first principle, which is the *moral sense*, would strongly operate on those, who, by the exact temperature and balance of the passions, are disengaged enough to feel the delicacy of it's charms; and have an elegance of mind to respect the nobleness of its dictates. The second, which is the *essential difference*, will have its weight with the speculative, the abstract and profound reasoners; and on all those who excel in the knowledge of human nature. And the third, which resolves itself into the *will of God*, and takes in all the consequences of obedience and disobedience, is principally adapted to the great body of mankind [g].

To these great purposes serve the THREE PRINCIPLES, while in conjunction: But now, as in the *civil* world and the affairs of men, our pleasure, in contemplating the wisdom and goodness of pro-

[g] It may perhaps be objected, to what is here delivered, *that the true principle of morality should have the worthiest motive to enforce it: Whereas the will of God is enforced by the view of rewards and punishments; on which motive, virtue hath the smallest merit.* This character of the true principle of morality is perfectly right; and agrees, we say, with the principle which we make to be so: For the legitimate motive to virtue, on that principle, is *compliance with the will of God*; which hath the highest degree of merit. But this not being found of sufficient force to take in the generality, the consequences of compliance or non-compliance to this will, as far as relates to rewards and punishments, were first drawn out to the people's view. In which they were dealt with as the teachers of mathematics treat their pupils; when, to engage them in a sublime demonstration, they explain to them the utility of the theorem.

vidence, is often disturbed and checked by the view of some human perversity or folly which runs across that dispensation; so it is here, in the *intellectual*. This admirable provision for the support of virtue hath been, in great measure, defeated by its pretended advocates; who, in their eternal squabbles about the true foundation of morality, and the obligation to its practice, have sacrilegiously untwisted this THREEFOLD CORD; and each running away with the part he esteemed the strongest hath affixed that to the throne of heaven, as the golden chain that is to unite and draw all unto it.

This man proposes to illustrate the doctrine of the *moral sense*; and then the morality of actions is founded only in that *sense:* with him, metaphysics and logic, by which the *essential difference*, in human actions, is demonstrated, are nothing but *words*, *notions*, *visions*; *the empty regions and shadows of philosophy*. The professors of them are *moon-blind wits*; and *Locke* himself is treated as a school-man[h]. To talk of reward and punishment, consequent on the *will of a superior*, is to make the practice of virtue mercenary and servile; from which, pure human nature is the most abhorrent.

Another undertakes to demonstrate *the essential differences of things*, and their natural fitness and unfitness to certain ends; and then *morality* is solely founded on those differences; and God and his will have nothing to do in the matter. Then the will of God cannot make any thing morally good and evil, just and unjust; nor consequently be the cause of any obligation on moral agents: because the essences and natures of things, which

[h] *Characteristics*, passim.

conſtitute actions good and evil, are independent on that will; which is forced to ſubmit to their relations like weak man's. And therefore, if there were no natural juſtice, that is, if the rational and intellectual nature were, of itſelf, undetermined and unobliged to any thing, and ſo deſtitute of morality, it were not poſſible that any thing ſhould be made morally good or evil, obligatory or unlawful, or that any moral obligation ſhould be begotten by any will or poſitive command whatſoever.—And then our knowledge of moral good and evil is ſolely acquired by abſtract reaſoning: And to talk of its coming any other way into the mind, is weak and ſuperſtitious, as making God act unneceſſarily and ſuperfluouſly.

A third, who propoſes to place *morality* on *the will of a ſuperior*, which is its true bottom, acts yet on the ſame exterminating model. He takes the other two principles to be merely viſionary: The *moral ſenſe* is nothing but the impreſſion of education; the *love of the ſpecies* romantic; and invented by crafty knaves, to dupe the young, the vain, and the ambitious. Nature, he ſaith, hath confined us to the narrow ſphere of *ſelf-love*; and our moſt pompous pretences of pure diſintereſtedneſs, but the more artful diſguiſe of that very paſſion. He not only denies all *moral difference* in actions, antecedent to the will of God, which (as we ſhall ſhew anon) he might well do; but likewiſe, all *ſpecific difference:* will not ſo much as allow it to be a *rule* to direct us to the performance of God's will; for that the *notions* of fit and unfit proceed not from that *difference*, but from the arbitrary impoſitions of *will* only; that God is the free cauſe of truths as well as beings; and then, conſequently, if he ſo wills, two and two would not make four. At length his ſyſtem ſhrinks into a vile and abject

ſelfiſhneſs;

ſelfiſhneſs; and, as he degrades and contracts his nature, he ſlips, before he is aware, quite beſides his foundation, which he profeſſes to be the *will of God.*

Thus have men, borne away by a fondneſs to their own idle ſyſtems, preſumptuouſly broken in upon that *triple barrier* [h], with which God has been graciouſly pleaſed to cover and ſecure virtue; and given advantage to the cavils of libertines and infidels; who on each of theſe three principles, thus advanced on the ruins of the other two, have reciprocally forged a ſcheme of religion independent of morality [i]; and a ſcheme of morality independent of religion [k]; who, how different ſoever their employments may ſeem, are indeed but twiſting the ſame rope at different ends: the plain

[h] St. Paul would have taught them much better; who collecting together and enforcing all the motives for the *practice of virtue* expreſſeth himſelf in this manner. "*Finally, brethren, whatſoever things are* true, *whatſoever things are* honeſt, *whatſoever things are* juſt"—Το λοιπὸν, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅσα ἐστὶν ΑΛΗΘΗ, ὅσα ΣΕΜΝΑ, ὅσα ΔΙΚΑΙΑ—ἀληθῆ evidently relating to the *eſſential difference of things*; σεμνὰ (implying ſomething of worth, ſplendour, dignity) to the *moral ſenſe* men have of this difference; and δίκαια *juſt* is relative to a law. The apoſtle proceeds—"*whatſoever things are* pure, *whatſoever things are* lovely, *Whatſoever things are of* good report"—ὅσα ἁγνὰ, ὅσα προσφιλῆ, ὅσα εὔφημα. In theſe three latter characters marking the nature of the three preceding: ἁγνὰ *pure* referring to *truth*; προσφιλῆ *lovely*, amiable, to *honeſty*; and εὔφημα *of good report*, reputable, to the obſervation of laws, or juſtice. He concludes, "*If there be any* virtue, *and if there be any* praiſe, "*think of theſe things.*" εἴ τις ἀρετὴ, καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογίζεσθε. That is, If the moral ſenſe and the eſſential difference of things can make the practice of morality, a *virtue*; or obedience to a law, *matter of praiſe*, think on theſe things.

[i] See *the Fable of the Bees*, and confer the *enquiry into the original of Moral virtue*, and the *ſearch into the nature of ſociety*, with the body of the book.

[k] See the fourth Treatiſe of the *Characteriſtics*, intituled, *An Enquiry concerning Virtue and Merit.*

deſign

deſign of both being to overthrow *religion*. But as the moraliſt's is the more plauſible ſcheme, it is become moſt in faſhion: So that of late years a deluge of moral ſyſtems hath overflowed the learned world, in which either the *moral ſenſe*, or the *eſſential difference*, rides alone triumphant; which like the chorus of clouds in *Ariſtophanes*, the Αέναοι Νεφέλαι, the ETERNAL RELATIONS, are introduced into the ſcene, with a gaudy outſide, to ſupplant *Jupiter*, and to teach the arts of fraud and *ſophiſtry*; but in a little time betray themſelves to be empty, obſcure, noiſy, impious nothings.

In a word, as to the ſeveral ſorts of *ſeparatiſts*, thoſe I mean who are indeed friends to religion, and deteſt the infidel's abuſe of their principles, I would recommend to their interpretation the following oracle of an ancient ſage[1]. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΥΡΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ, Η ΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ.

And now, to come more directly to our adverſary's argument: We ſay then,

1. That the atheiſt can never come to the knowledge of the MORALITY of actions properly ſo called.
2. That though he be capable of being affected

[1] This noble truth, *that the only true foundation and original of morality is the will of God interpreted by the moral ſenſe and eſſential difference of things*, was a *random* thought of *Chryſippus* the *Stoic*. I give it this term, 1. Becauſe the ancient philoſophy teaches nothing certain concerning the true ground of moral obligation. 2. Becauſe *Plutarch's* quoting it amongſt *the repugnances of the Stoics*, ſhews it to be inconſiſtent with their other doctrine. And indeed, the following the ancient philoſophers too ſervilely, has occaſioned the errors of modern moraliſts, in unnaturally ſeparating three principles of practical morality, *Plato* being the patron of the *moral ſenſe*; *Ariſtotle* of the *eſſential differences*; and *Zeno of arbitrary will*.

with

with the moral ſenſe, and may arrive to the knowledge of the real eſſential differences in the qualities of human actions; yet this ſenſe and this knowledge make nothing for the purpoſe of M. *Bayle's* argument: becauſe theſe, even in conjunction, are totally inſufficient to influence ſociety in the practice of virtue: which influence is eſſential to the queſtion.

Both theſe concluſions, I preſume, have been clearly proved from what hath been ſaid above, of *the origin of ſociety*, and, juſt before, of *the foundation of moral virtue:* But that nothing may be wanting to our argument, I ſhall crave leave to examine the matter with a little more exactneſs.

1. And firſt, *that an atheiſt, as ſuch, can never arrive to the knowledge of the morality of actions, properly ſo called*, we ſhall farther make good againſt Mr. *Bayle's* reaſoning which he brings to prove, *that the Morality of human actions may be demonſtrated on the principles of a* Stratonicean, or atheiſtic Fataliſt; whom he perſonates in this manner: "The [m] beauty, ſymmetry, regularity, and order, "ſeen in the univerſe, are the effects of a blind "unintelligent nature; and though this nature, in "her workmanſhip, hath copied after no ideas, "ſhe hath nevertheleſs produced an infinite num- "ber of ſpecies, with each its diſtinct eſſential "attribute. It is not in conſequence of our opi- "nion, that fire and water differ in ſpecies, and "that there is a like difference between love and "hatred, affirmation and negation. This ſpe- "cific difference is founded in the nature of the "things themſelves. But how do we know this? "Is it not by comparing the eſſential properties of

[m] La beauté, la ſymétrie, la regularité, l'ordre que l'on voit dans l'univers, ſont l'ouvrage d'une nature qui n'a point de connoiſſance, & qu'encore, *&c. Contin. des penſes diverſes*, c. cli.

"one

" one of theſe beings with the eſſential properties " of another of them? But we know, by the ſame " way, that there is a ſpecific difference between " truth and falſhood, between good faith and " perfidiouſneſs, between gratitude and ingrati- " tude, *&c.* We may then be aſſured, that vice " and virtue differ ſpecifically, by their nature, " independent of our opinion." This, Mr. *Bayle* calls their being *naturally* ſeparated from each other: And thus much we allow him. He goes on: " Let[n] us ſee now by what ways *Stratonic* atheiſts " may come to the knowledge of vice and virtue's " being *morally* as well as *naturally* ſeparated. They " aſcribe to the ſame neceſſity of nature the eſta- " bliſhment of thoſe relations which we find to be " between things, and the eſtabliſhment of thoſe " rules by which we diſtinguiſh thoſe relations. " There are rules of reaſoning independent of " the will of man: It is not becauſe men have " been pleaſed to fix the rules of ſyllogiſm, that " therefore thoſe rules are juſt and true: they are " ſo in themſelves, and all the endeavours of the " wit of man againſt their eſſence and their at- " tributes would be vain and ridiculous." This likewiſe we grant him. He proceeds: " If then " there are certain and immutable rules for the ope- " ration of the underſtanding, there are alſo ſuch " for the determinations of the will." But this we deny. He would prove it thus: " The[o] rules " of theſe determinations are not altogether arbi- " trary; ſome of them proceed from the neceſſity " of nature; and theſe impoſe an indiſpenſable " obligation. The moſt general of theſe rules is " this, *that man ought to will what is moſt conform-*

[n] Voions comment ils pouvoient ſavoir qu'elles etoient outre cela ſeparées moralement. Ils attribuoient, *&c. Idem ibid.*

[o] Les regles de ces actes — là ne ſont pas toutes arbitraires: il y en a qui emanent, *&c. Idem ibid.*

" *able*

" *able to right reaſon:* For there is no truth " more evident than this, that it is fit a reaſonable " creature ſhould conform to right reaſon, and " unfit that ſuch a creature ſhould recede from it." This is his argument. To which we ſhall now reply; and ſhew that from thence no *moral difference* can ariſe. He contends that *things are both naturally and morally ſeparable.* He ſpeaks of theſe ideas as very different (as indeed they are) and proves the truth of them by different arguments. *The natural eſſential difference of things* then, if we mean any thing by the terms, hath this apparent property; that it creates a *fitneſs* in the agent to act agreeably thereto: As the *moral difference* of things creates, beſides this *fitneſs*, an *obligation* likewiſe: When therefore there is an *obligation* in the agent, there is a *moral difference* in the things, and ſo on the contrary, for they are inſeparable. If then we prove that right reaſon alone cannot properly *oblige*, it will follow that the knowledge of what is agreeable to right reaſon doth not induce a *moral difference:* Or that a Stratonicean is not under any *obligation* to act agreeably to right reaſon, which is the thing Mr. *Bayle* contends for.

1. Obligation, neceſſarily implies an obliger: The obliger muſt be different from, and not one and the ſame with the obliged: To make a man at once the obliger and obliged, is the ſame thing as to make him treat or enter into compact with himſelf, which is the higheſt of abſurdities. For it is an unqueſtioned rule in law and reaſon, that whoever acquires a right to any thing from the obligation of another towards him, may relinquiſh that right. If therefore the obliger and obliged be one and the ſame perſon, there all obligation muſt be void of courſe; or rather there would be no obligation begun: Yet the *Stratonic* atheiſt is guilty

guilty of this abſurdity, when *he* talks of actions being *moral* or *obligatory*. For what *being* can he find whereon to found this obligation? Will he ſay *right reaſon?* But that is the very abſurdity we complain of; becauſe *reaſon* is only an attribute of the perſon obliged, his aſſiſtant to judge of his obligations, if he hath any from another being: To make *this* then the obliger, is to make a man oblige himſelf. If he ſay he means by *reaſon* not every man's particular reaſon, but *reaſon in general*; we reply, that *this* reaſon is a mere abſtract notion, which hath no real ſubſiſtence; and how that which hath no real ſubſiſtence ſhould *oblige*, is ſtill more difficult to apprehend.

2. But farther, *moral* obligation, that is, the obligation of a free agent, implies a *law*, which enjoins and forbids; but a *law* is the impoſition of an intelligent ſuperior, who hath power to exact conformity thereunto. But blind unintelligent nature is no lawgiver, nor can what proceeds neceſſarily from thence come under the notion of a law: We ſay indeed, in common ſpeech, the *law of neceſſity*, and *the law of reaſon and nature*; but theſe are merely popular expreſſions: By the firſt, we mean only to inſinuate, that *neceſſity* hath, as it were, one property of a *law*, namely that of *forcing*; and by the ſecond, the rule which the ſupreme lawgiver hath laid down for the judging of his will And while this light and direction of *reaſon* or *nature* is conſidered as a rule given by the *God of nature*, the term may be allowed: Thoſe who ſo conſidered the term were the firſt who ſo uſed it. After-writers retained the name; but, by a ſtrange abſurdity, ſeparated the *law-giver* from his *law*; on a fancy of its being of virtue to *oblige* by its own intrinſic excellence, or by the happineſs of which it is productive. But how

any

any thing except a law, in the proper philoſophic ſenſe, can oblige a dependent reaſonable being endued with will, is utterly inconceivable. The fundamental error in Mr. *Bayle's* argument ſeems to be this: He ſaw the eſſential difference of things; he found thoſe differences the adequate object of the *underſtanding*; and ſo too haſtily concluded them the adequate object of the *will* likewiſe. In this he was miſtaken, they are indeed the adequate object of the underſtanding; becauſe the underſtanding is neceſſitated in its perceptions, and therefore is under the ſole direction of theſe neceſſary differences; and is properly paſſive in the affair. But the will is not neceſſitated in its reſolves: for inſtance, that three are leſs than five, the underſtanding is neceſſitated to judge, but the will is not neceſſitated to chuſe five before three: Therefore the eſſential differences of things are not the adequate object of the *will*, the law of a ſuperior muſt be taken in to conſtitute *obligation* in choice, or *morality* in actions.

Hobbes ſeems to have penetrated farther into this matter, than the *Stratonicean* of Mr. *Bayle*; he appeared to have been ſenſible that *morality* implied *obligation*, and obligation a *law*, and a law a *lawgiver:* Therefore, having expelled the legiſlator of the univerſe, that morality of actions might have ſome foundation, he thought fit to underprop it with his earthly God, the *Leviathan*; and to make him the creator and ſupporter of moral *right* and *wrong*.

But a favourer of Mr. *Bayle's* paradox may perhaps object, that as we have allowed a *fitneſs*, and *unfitneſs* in actions, diſcoverable by the eſſential difference of things; and as this fitneſs and unfitneſs implies benefit and damage to the actor, and others; it being in fact ſeen, that the practice of virtue

virtue promotes the happineſs of the individual, or at leaſt of the ſpecies, and that vice obſtructs it; it may be ſaid, that this will be ſufficient to make *morality*, or *obligation*, in the *Stratonic* world; if not in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, yet as to the nature of the thing. To this we reply, that in that world, whatever advanced human happineſs, would be only a natural good; and virtue as merely ſuch, as food and covering: and, that which retarded it, a natural evil, whether it was vice, peſtilence, or unkindly ſeaſons. *Natural*, I ſay, in contradiſtinction to moral, or ſuch a good as any one would be *obliged* to ſeek or promote. For 'till it be made appear that Man hath received his being from the *will* of another; and ſo depending on that other, is accountable to him for it; he can be under no *moral obligation* to prefer good to evil, or even life to death. From the *nature* of any action, morality cannot ariſe; nor from its *effects:* Not from the firſt, becauſe, being only reaſonable or unreaſonable, nothing follows but a *fitneſs* in doing one, and an *abſurdity* in doing the other: Not from the *ſecond*, becauſe, did the good or evil produced make the action moral, brutes, from whoſe actions proceed both good and evil, would have *morality*.

If it be farther urged, that the obſervance of theſe eſſential differences is the promoting the perfection of a particular ſyſtem, which contributes, in its concentration, to the perfection of the univerſe; and that therefore a reaſonable creature is *obliged* to conform thereto: I anſwer, firſt, that (on the principles before laid down) to make a reaſonable creature obliged, in this caſe, he muſt firſt be enforced by the whole, of which he is part. This enforcement cannot here be by intentional command, whoſe object is free agency, becauſe

the *Stratonic* whole, or univerſal nature, is blind and unintelligible. It muſt force then by the neceſſity of its nature; and this will, indeed, make men obliged as clocks are by weights, but never as free agents are, by the command of an intelligent ſuperior, which only can make actions *moral*. But ſecondly, an uniform perfect whole can never be the effect of blind fate, or chance: but is the plain image and impreſſion of one intelligent ſelf-exiſtent mind. In a word, as it is of the nature of the *independent* firſt cauſe of all things to be obliged only by his own *wiſdom*; ſo it ſeems to be of the nature of all *dependent* intelligent beings to be obliged only by the *will* of the firſt cauſe.

Nor does this contradict what we have aſſerted, and not only aſſerted, but proved, in ſpeaking of moral obligation, *that nothing, but will, can oblige*: Becauſe our whole reaſoning is confined to *man's obligation*. And if there be any thing certain, in the firſt principles of law or reaſon, this muſt be confeſſed to be of the number, *that a man can neither oblige himſelf, nor be obliged by names and notions*; ſo that, to create an obligation, the *will* of ſome other being muſt be found out. A principle, which the common conception of man, and the univerſal practice of human life confirms. But, as in our diſcourſe of God, the weakneſs of our intellects conſtrains us to explain our conceptions of his nature by human ideas, therefore when we ſpeak of the morality of *his* actions, finding them to be founded in no other, or ſuperior will, we ſay, he is *obliged only by his own wiſdom: Obligation*, when applied to God, meaning no more than *direction*: for, that an *independent* being can be ſubject to obligation in the ſenſe that a *dependent* being is ſubject, is, by the very terms, an high abſurdity. *Obli-*

gation,

gation, therefore, when applied to man, being *one* thing; when applied to God *another*; the ſtricteſt rules of logic will allow different attributes to be predicated of each. It is confeſſed, we have a clear and adequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to man: of *this* obligation we have affirmed ſomething plain and evident: It is likewiſe confeſſed we have a very obſcure and inadequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to God: Of *this* obligation, too, we have affirmed ſomething, whoſe evidence muſt needs partake of the imperfection of its ſubject. Yet there have been found objectors ſo perverſe, who would not only have *clear* conceptions regulated on *obſcure*; but what is *ſimply predicated* of God, to deſtroy what hath been *proved* of man [P].

[P] But to ſet this matter in a fuller light, I will juſt mention two objections (*not peculiar* to the *Stratoniceans*) againſt morality's being founded in will.

Obj. 1. It is ſaid, "That, as every creature neceſſarily "purſues happineſs, it is *that* which obliges to moral obſer-"vance, and not the will of God: becauſe it is to procure "happineſs that we obey command, and do every other act: "and becauſe, if that will commanded us to do what would make "us unhappy, we ſhould be forced to diſobey it." To this I anſwer, that when it is ſaid *morality is founded on will*, it is not meant that every will obliges, but that nothing but will can oblige. It is plain the will of an inferior or equal cannot be meant by it: It is not ſimply will then, but will ſo and ſo circumſtanced: And why it is not as much will that obliges, when it is the *will of a ſuperior ſeeking our good*, as the *will of a ſuperior ſimply*, I am yet to learn. To ſay then that happineſs and not will makes the obligation, ſeems like ſaying, that when in mechanics a weight is raiſed by an engine, the *wheels* and *pullies* are not the cauſe, but that univerſal affection of matter called *attraction*. If it be ſtill urged, that *one* can no more be called the obliger than the *other*; becauſe though happineſs could not oblige without will, on the other hand, will could not oblige without happineſs; I reply, this is a miſtake. Will could not indeed oblige to unhappineſs; but it would oblige to what ſhould produce neither one nor the other, though all conſiderations of the conſequence of obeying or diſobeying were away.

On the whole, then, it appears, that *will*, and *will only*, can constitute *obligation*; and, consequently, *moral* actions, *i. e.* such as deserve *reward* and *punishment*. Yet when men reflect on the affections of their own minds, and find *there* a *sense* of *right* and *wrong* so strongly impressed as to be attended with a *consciousness* that the one deserves *reward* and the other *punishment*, even tho' there were no God; this so perplexes matters, as to dispose them, in opposition to all those plain *deductions*, to place morality in the *essential difference* of things. But would they consider that *that very sensation*, which so much misleads us in judging of the true foundation of morality, is the plainest indication of *will*, which, for the better support of virtue [q], so framed and constituted the human mind; a constitution utterly inconceivable on the supposition of *no God*; would they, I say,

Obj. 2. It is said, "That if, according to the modern no-"tions of philosophy, the will of God be determined by the "eternal relations of things, they are properly those relations "(as Dr. *Clarke* would have it) that oblige, and not the will "of God. For if A impel B; and B, C; and C, D; it is A and not C that properly impells D." But here I suspect the objection confounds *natural cause and effect* with *moral agent and patient*; which are two distinct things, as appears, as on many other accounts, so from their effects; the one implying *natural necessity*, the other, only *moral fitness*. Thus, in the case before us, the eternal relations are, if you will, the *natural cause*, but the will of God is the *moral agency*: And our question is, not *of natural necessity* that results from the former, but, of *moral fitness* that results from the latter. Thus that which is not properly the natural cause of my acting, is the moral cause of it. And so on the contrary.

[q] We have explained above the admirable disposition of things, by the God of nature, for the support of virtue. And it was from this view that an able writer, who is for moderating in the dispute about *moral obligation*, calls the *essential difference of things*, discoverable by reason, the *internal obligation*, and the *will of God*, the *external*. J'entends (dit il) par *obli-*

but

but conſider this, the difficulty would intirely vaniſh.

But ſo it hath happened, this evident truth, that *morality is founded in will*, hath been long controverted even among *Theiſts*. What hath perplexed their diſputes is, that the contenders for this truth have generally thought themſelves obliged to deny the *natural eſſential differences* of things, antecedent to a law; imagining, that the *morality* of actions would follow the conceſſion. But this is a miſtake, which the rightly diſtinguiſhing between things *naturally* and *morally* ſeparable, (as explained above) will rectify. That the diſtinction hath lain much unobſerved, becauſe confounded, is owing to the unheeded *appetite* and *averſion* of the *moral ſenſe:* and their adverſaries being in the ſame deluſion, that the *one* inferred the *other*, never gave themſelves any farther trouble, but when they had clearly demonſtrated the *natural eſſential difference*, delivered

gation interne celle qui eſt uniquement produite par notre propre raiſon, conſiderée comme la regle primitive de notre conduite, et en conſequence de ce qu'une action a, en elle-meme, de bon ou de mauvais. Pour l'*obligation externe* ce ſera celle qui vient de la volonté de quelque être, dont on ſe reconnoit dependant, et qui commande ou defend certaines choſes, ſous la menace de quelque peine. *Burlamaqui, Principes du droit naturel*, p. 76.

If he had called the firſt, *the improper obligation*, and the other the *proper*, his terms had been a great deal more exact. For it being of the eſſence of the relative term, *obligation*, to have an outward reſpect, or exterior relation, *internal obligation* muſt be a very *figurative*, that is to ſay, a very *improper* expreſſion, when applied to man, to ſuch a being nothing but *will* can be the ground of *obligation*: and ſuch an obligation is rightly called *external*. Perhaps, indeed, that ruling nature which draws all machines, whether *brutal* or *rational* (if there be any of the latter kind) to purſue *happineſs*, may, in a *philoſophic* ſenſe, be called the *internal obligation*; but, ſurely, when applied to *man*, ſuppoſed a free-agent, the terms are mere jargon.

that as a proof of the *moral difference*, though they be, in reality, two distinct things, and independent of each other. One of our ablest writers[r] hath not escaped this delusion: who, dissatisfied with all the principles, from which the preceding writers of his party had deduced the morality of actions, when he had demonstrated, with greater clearness than any before him, *the natural essential difference of things*, unluckily mistook it for the *moral difference*; and thence made *the formal ratio of moral good and evil, to consist in a conformity of mens actions to the truth of the case, or otherwise.* For it is a principle with him, that things may be denied or affirmed to be what they are, by *deeds* as well as *words*. But had both parties been pleased to consider *this natural essential difference of things*, as, what it must be confessed by both to be, THE DIRECTION WHICH GOD HATH GIVEN HIS CREATURES TO BRING THEM TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WILL; AND THE RULE OF THAT WILL, the dispute had been at an end: and they had employed *this difference*, not as the atheist does, for the *foundation* of morality; but, as all true theists should do, for the *medium* to bring us to that only sound foundation, the *will* and command of God. Those who imagine, as the author of *the principles of natural law* seems to do, that this is only a dispute about words[f], are much deceived. The man who regards the essential difference of things as a command or a law properly so called, hath a very different idea of it, from him who regards it only as a rule or

[r] *The Religion of Nature delineated.*

[f] Je conclus—que les différences qui se trouvent entre les principaux systemes sur la nature & l'origine de l'obligation, ne sont pas aussi grandes qu'elles le paroissent d'abord. Si l'on examine de pres ces sentimens, l'on verra que ces differentes idees, reduites à leur juste valeur, loin de se trouver en opposition, peuvent se rapprocher—*Burlamaqui*, p. 75—6.

a law

a law improperly ſo called. And the reaſon is plain, becauſe theſe relative terms have an eſſential difference; a *rule*, referring ſingly to thoſe directed by it; but a *law* has a double reference; to thoſe governed by it, and to the lawgiver who gave it. He therefore who regards it as a *rule*, ſtops ſhort, and reſts obligation there, where no obligation can abide: But he who regards it as a *law* properly ſo called, (for thoſe who conſider it as a *mere rule* give it the name of law, becauſe they make *obligation* to ariſe from it) reſts obligation in a lawgiver, and purſues it to its true ſource, the throne of God. The diſpute, therefore, is not about *words*, but *things*: Or if we will needs have it to be about words, it is of the *proper* and *improper* uſe of them; a matter of importance not only to truth, but even to common ſenſe. We ſay a *ſound is ſweet*, or a *colour hot*; and as no body is miſled by theſe expreſſions, we hold it fooliſh to diveſt them of their figure, and formally to contend that (ſtrictly and philoſophically ſpeaking) inconſiſtent properties are aſcribed to them. But ſhould it once be aſſumed that a *ſound* may be the ſubject of *taſte* and a *colour* the ſubject of *touch*, it would be time, I ſuppoſe, to rectify an abſurdity which tends to confound all our *ideas of ſenſation*: Juſt ſo it is, in the expreſſions of *truth or happineſs*, OBLIGING: While theſe were conſidered as the *rule* or *reward* of actions, given and impoſed by a maſter on his ſervants, by a creator on his creature, the figure was neither forced nor inelegant; and did not deſerve to be quarrelled with. But when the queſtion was of *real obligation*, in a metaphyſic ſenſe, then, ſeriouſly to contend, that it ariſes from *truth* or *happineſs* or from any thing but WILL, is the very philoſophy of *taſting ſound* and *feeling colour*; and

equally tends to the confusion of all our *ideas of reflexion.*

On the whole then we see, that an atheist, as such, cannot arrive to the knowledge of *morality* [t].

2. We now come to our second conclusion against Mr. *Bayle's* argument, "that the idea of "the *moral sense*, and the knowledge of the *natu-* "*ral essential difference of things*, are, even in con- "junction, insufficient to influence society in the "practice of virtue:" But we must previously observe, that the arguments, which we allow to be conclusive for the *Stratonic* atheist's comprehension of the natural essential difference of things, take in only that species of atheism: the *other*, which derive all from chance and hazard, are incapable of this knowledge; and must be content with only the *moral sense* for their guide. Let us therefore *first* enquire what this *moral sense* is able to do alone, towards influencing virtuous practice; and *secondly*, what new force it acquires in conjunction with the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things.*

1. Men are misled by the name of *instinct* (which we allow the *moral sense* to be) to imagine that its impressions operate very strongly, by observing their force in brute animals. But the cases are widely different: In beasts, the instinct is invincibly strong, as it is the sole spring of action: In man, it is only a friendly monitor of the judgment;

[t] One would not have imagined any body could be so wild to assert, that, on these principles, it could not be proved, that an immoral atheist deserved punishment at the hand of God. To such shrewd discerners, I would recommend the following case. Your servant gets drunk; and, in that condition, neglects your orders, forgets your relation to him, and treats it as an imposture. Does he, or does he not, deserve punishment? When this is resolved, the point in question will be so too.

and a conciliator, as it were, between reaſon and the other appetites; all which have their turn in the determinations of the will. It muſt conſequently then be much weaker, as but ſharing the power of putting upon action with many other principles. Nor could it have been otherwiſe without deſtroying human liberty. It is indeed of ſo delicate a nature, ſo nicely interwoven into the frame and conſtitution of man, and ſo eaſily loſt or effaced, that ſome have even denied the exiſtence of a quality, which, in moſt of its common ſubjects, they have hardly been able to follow. Inſomuch that one would be tempted to liken it to that *candid appearance*, which, as the modern philoſophy ſhews us, reſults from a mixture of all kinds of primitive *colours*; where, if the ſeveral ſorts be not found in fit proportions, no whiteneſs will emerge from the compoſition: So, unleſs the original paſſions and appetites be rightly tempered and balanced, the *moral ſenſe* can never ſhew itſelf in any ſtrong or ſenſible effect. This being the ſtate of *moral inſtinct*, it muſt evidently, when alone, be too weak to influence human practice.

When the *moral ſenſe* is made the rule, and eſpecially when it is the only rule, it is neceſſary that its rectitude, as a rule, ſhould be known and aſcertained: But this it cannot be by an Atheiſt: For till it be allowed there was deſign in our production, it can never be ſhewn that one appetite is righter than another, though they be contrary and inconſiſtent. The appetite therefore, that, at preſent, is moſt importunate to be gratified, muſt be judged to be the right, how adverſe ſoever to the moral ſenſe. But, ſuppoſing this moral ſenſe not to be ſo eaſily confounded with the other appetites; but that it may be kept diſtinct, as having this different quality from the reſt, that it is objective to a

whole, or entire ſpecies; whereas the others terminate in *ſelf*, or in the *private ſyſtem*; though, as to whole and parts, an atheiſt muſt have very ſlender and confuſed ideas; granting this, I ſay, yet human actions, which are the iſſue of *thoſe appetites*, would, in time, effectually, though inſenſibly, efface the idea of the moral ſenſe, in the generality of men. Almoſt infinite are the popular cuſtoms, in the ſeveral nations and ages of mankind, that owe their birth to the more violent paſſions of fear, luſt, and anger. The moſt whimſical and capricious, as well as inhuman and unnatural, have ariſen from thence. It muſt needs therefore be, that cuſtoms of this original ſhould be as oppoſite to the *moral ſenſe*, as thoſe appetites are, from whence they were derived. And of how great power, cuſtom is to eraſe the ſtrongeſt impreſſions of nature, much ſtronger than thoſe of the *moral ſenſe*, we may learn from that general practice, which prevailed in the moſt learned and polite countries of the world, of *expoſing their children*[v]; whereby the ſtrong inſtinctive affecti on for the offspring was violated without remorſe.

This would lead one into a very beaten common place. It ſuffices that

[v] Of all the moral painters, Terence is he who ſeems to have copied human nature moſt exactly. Yet, his man of univerſal benevolence, whom he draws with ſo much life, in that maſterly ſtroke, *homo ſum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, is the ſame perſon who commands his wife to expoſe her new-born daughter, and falls into a paſſion with her for having committed that hard taſk to another, by which means the infant eſcaped death,--- *ſi meum imperium exequi voluiſſes, interemptam oportuit.* Hence Plato reckons the expoſing infants, if not amongſt the dictates of nature, yet amongſt the preſcripts of right reaſon: For in his *book of laws*, which he compoſed for the reformation of popular prejudices and abuſes in human policies, he decrees, that if the parents had children, after a certain age, they ſhould *expoſe* them; and that ſo effectually, he ſays, that they did not eſcape dying by famine. Chremes therefore ſpeaks both the dictates of philoſophy and cuſtom, when he characterizes ſuch who had any remains of this natural inſtinct, as perſons--*qui neque jus, neque locum, atque æquum ſciunt.*

the

the fact is too notorious to be diſputed. And that what makes more particularly for my argument is, that *cuſtom* is a power which oppoſes the *moral ſenſe* not *partially*, or at certain times and places, but *univerſally*. If therefore cuſtom in the politeſt ſtates, where a providence was taught and acknowledged, made ſuch havock of virtue; into what confuſion muſt things ſoon run, where there is no other barrier than the feeble idea of the *moral ſenſe?* Nor can it be replied, that the cuſtoms here ſpoken of, as ſo deſtructive to the moral ſenſe, are the iſſue of falſe religions, which ſpring and fountain-head of evil, atheiſm at once dries up: For the inſtance here given is of a cuſtom merely civil; with which religion had no manner of concern. And ſo are a vaſt number of others that are carefully collected by the two writers mentioned above.

2. But now, *ſecondly*, for our *Stratonic* atheiſt; in whom, we ſuppoſe, the *moral ſenſe*, and *the knowledge of the eſſential difference of things* act in conjunction to promote virtuous practice. And, in conjunction, they impart mutual ſtrength to one another: For as ſoon as the *eſſential difference* is eſtabliſhed and applied, it becomes a mark to diſtinguiſh the *moral ſenſe* from the other appetites, which are irregular and wrong. And, the *moral ſenſe* being thus carefully kept up and ſupported, the mind, in its metaphyſical reaſonings on the *eſſential difference*, is guarded from running into viſions, and refinements.

The queſtion then is, "whether a clear con-"viction of right and wrong, abſtracted from all "will and command, and conſequently, from the "expectation of reward and puniſhment, be ſuffi-"cient to influence the generality of mankind in "any tolerable degree?" That it is not, will, I ſuppoſe, be clearly ſeen by the following conſide-

ration.

ration. All, who have conſidered human nature attentively, have found[w], that it is not enough to make men follow virtue that it be owned to be the *greateſt* good; which the *beauty*, *benefit*, or *reaſonableneſs* of it may evince. It muſt firſt be brought home to them; and conſidered by them as a good that makes a neceſſary part of their happineſs, before it can raiſe any deſire in them. For it is not conceived needfull, that a man's happineſs ſhould depend on the attainment of the greateſt poſſible good; and he daily forms ſchemes of complete happineſs without it. But the gratification of craving appetites, moved ſtrongly by ſelf-love, being thought to contribute much to human happineſs, and being at the ſame time ſo oppoſite to, and inconſiſtent with virtue, the generality will never be brought to think, that uniform virtue makes a neceſſary part of human happineſs. To balance theſe appetites, ſomething, then, more intereſting muſt be laid in the ſcale of virtue; and this can be only rewards and puniſhments, which religion propoſes by a *morality* founded on *will*.

But this may be farther underſtood by what hath been obſerved above, concerning the nature and original of civil ſociety. *Self-intereſt*, as we there ſhew, ſpurring to action by hopes and fears, cauſed all thoſe diſorders amongſt men, which required the remedy of civil ſociety. And *ſelf-intereſt*, again, operating by hopes and fears in ſociety, afforded means for the redreſs of thoſe firſt diſorders; ſo far forth as ſociety could carry thoſe hopes and fears. For to combat this univerſal paſſion of *ſelf-love*, another, at leaſt as ſtrong, was to be oppoſed to it; but ſuch a one not being to be found in human nature, all that could be done was to

[w] See *Locke's Eſſay*, Chap. *Of Power*, § 71.

turn

turn this very paſſion in an oppoſite direction, and to a contrary purpoſe. Therefore, becauſe ſociety failed (from the natural deficiency of its plan) in remedying the diſorders it was inſtituted to correct, and conſequently was obliged to call in the aid of religion, as is above explained; it is evident it muſt proceed *ſtill* on the ſame principles of *hopes and fears*. But, of all the three grounds of morality, the third only thus operating, and an atheiſt not having the third, religion, which only gives it, muſt be unavoidably neceſſary for ſociety. Or in other words, the *moral ſenſe*, and the knowledge of the *natural eſſential difference of things* in conjunction, will be altogether inſufficient to influence the generality in virtuous practice.

SECT. V.

BUT Mr. *Bayle*, who well knew the force of this argument, is unwilling to reſt the matter here; and therefore caſts about for a motive of more general influence; this, he thinks, he finds in that ſtrong appetite to glory, praiſe, and reputation, which an atheiſt muſt needs have as well as other men. And this makes his ſecond argument.

II. "It is moſt certain[x], that a man void of "all religion may be very ſenſible of worldly "honour, and very covetous of praiſe and glory. "If ſuch a one find himſelf in a country where "ingratitude and knavery expoſe men to contempt, "and generoſity and virtue are admired, we need "not doubt but he will affect the character of a "man of honour; and be capable of reſtoring a "truſt, even where the laws could lay no hold

[x] Il eſt—fort certain, qu'un homme deſtitué de foi, peut être fort ſenſible à l'honneur du monde, *&c.* *Penſ. div.* c. 179.

"upon

" upon him. The fear of paſſing in the world " for a knave would prevail over his avarice. And " as there are men, who expoſe themſelves to a " thouſand inconveniences, and a thouſand dangers, " to revenge an affront, which perhaps they have " received before very few witneſſes, and which " they would readily pardon, were it not for fear " of incurring infamy amongſt thoſe with whom " they had to do; ſo I believe the ſame here; that " this perſon, whom we ſuppoſe void of religion, " would, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of " his avarice, be capable of reſtoring a truſt, which " it could not be legally proved he had withheld; " when he ſees that his good faith will be attended " with the applauſes of the whole place where he " reſides; while his perfidy might, ſome time or " other, be objected to him, or at leaſt ſo ſtrong- " ly ſuſpected, that he could not paſs in the " world's opinion for an honeſt man: For it is " that inward eſteem in the minds of others, " which we aſpire at, above all things. The " words and actions, which mark this eſteem, pleaſe " us on no other account, than as we imagine them " to be the ſigns of what paſſes in the mind: A " machine ſo ordered as to make the moſt re- " ſpectful geſticulations, and to pronounce the " cleareſt articulate ſounds, in all the detours of " flattery, would never contribute to give us a " better opinion of ourſelves, becauſe we ſhould " know they were not ſigns of eſteem in the mind " of another. On theſe accounts therefore, he, " of whom I ſpeak, might ſacrifice his avarice to " his vanity, if he only thought he ſhould be ſu- " ſpected of having violated a truſt. And though " he might even believe himſelf ſecure from all ſuſ- " picion, yet, ſtill, he could eaſily reſolve to pre- " fer the honourable part to the lucrative, for fear

" of

" of falling into the inconvenience, which has hap-
" pened to ſome, of publiſhing their crimes them-
" ſelves, while they ſlept, or in the tranſports of a
" fever. *Lucretius* uſes this motive to draw men,
" without religion, to virtue."

To this we reply, 1. That it is indeed true, that commendation and diſgrace are ſtrong motives to men to accommodate themſelves to the opinions and rules of thoſe, with whom they converſe; and that thoſe rules and opinions, in a good meaſure, correſpond, in moſt civilized countries, with the unchangeable rule of right, whatever *Sextus* and *Montaigne* have been pleaſed to ſay to the contrary. For virtue evidently advancing, and vice as viſibly obſtructing the general good, it is no wonder, that *that* action ſhould be encouraged with eſteem and reputation, wherein every one finds his account; and *that*, diſcountenanced, by reproach and infamy, which hath a contrary tendency. But then we ſay, that ſeeing this good opinion of the world may be almoſt as certainly, and more quickly and eaſily, gained by a well-acted hypocriſy than by a ſincere practice of virtue, the atheiſt, who lies under no reſtraints, with regard to the moral qualities of his actions, will rather chuſe to purſue that road to reputation, which is conſiſtent with an indulgence to all his other paſſions; than *that* whereby they will be at conſtant war with one another; and where he will be always finding himſelf under the hard neceſſity of *ſacrificing*, as Mr. *Bayle* well expreſſes it, *his avarice to his vanity*. Now this inconvenience he may avoid by reſolving to be honeſt only before company, which will procure him enough of reputation; and to play the rogue in ſecret, where he may fully indulge his avarice, or what other paſſion he is moſt diſpoſed to gratify. That this will be his

ſyſtem,

ſyſtem, who has no motive, but popular reputation, to act virtuouſly, is ſo plain that Mr. *Bayle* was reduced to the hardeſt ſhifts imaginable to invent a reaſon why an atheiſt, thus actuated by the love of glory, might poſſibly behave himſelf honeſtly, when he could do the contrary without ſuſpicion.—"And though he might believe himſelf ſecure from all ſuſpicion, yet ſtill he could "eaſily reſolve to prefer the honourable part to the "lucrative, for fear of falling into the inconvenience which hath happened to ſome, of publiſhing "their crimes themſelves, while they ſlept, or in "the tranſports of a fever." *Lucretius*, ſays he, *uſes this motive to draw men, without religion, to virtue.* It had been to the purpoſe to have told us, what man, from the time of *Lucretius* to his own, had been ever *ſo drawn.* But they muſt know little of human nature, who can ſuppoſe, that the conſideration of theſe remote, poſſible indeed, but very unlikely accidents, hath ever any ſhare in the determination of the will, when men are deliberating on actions of importance, and diſtracted by the ſhifting uncertain views of complicated good and evil. But granting this to be likely, or common; the man Mr. *Bayle* deſcribes could never get clear of the danger of that contingency, which way ſoever he reſolved to act. Let us ſuppoſe him to take the honourable part, even then, ſleep or a fever might as eaſily deprive him of the reputation he affects: For I believe there is no man, of this turn, but would be as aſhamed to have it known, that all his virtuous actions proceeded from a ſelfiſh vanity, as to be diſcovered to have ſtretched a point of juſtice, of which civil laws could take no cognizance. It is certain, the *firſt* makes a man as contemptible, and more ridiculous in the eyes of others, than the *latter*; becauſe the

the advantage aimed at is fantaſtical: and one diſcovery ſleep or a fever is as likely to make as the other.

But, 2. Suppoſing our Atheiſt to be of ſo ſuſpicious a turn, as to fear, that, even in a courſe of the beſt-acted hypocriſy, he may riſque the danger of a diſcovery, yet, as this practice enables him to provide largely for himſelf by all the means of ſecret injuſtice; and, obſerving, that though indeed eſteem is in general annexed to apparently good actions, and infamy to bad; yet that there is no virtue which procures popular eſteem ſo univerſally, if we may judge of it, as we muſt, by it's outward marks, as *riches and power*, there being no infamy which they will not efface or cover; and this, as we ſaid before, being a road to eſteem that leads him, at the ſame time, to the gratification of his other paſſions; there is no doubt but he will chuſe to run the hazard of all the inconveniences of a diſcovery, which ſo uſeful a practice may be indeed liable to, but which it can ſo readily repair. And here we are to obſerve, and I had need to obſerve it oft, Mr. *Bayle* ſo induſtriouſly affecting to forget it, that the people, the groſs body of mankind, are the only ſubject in queſtion. Now what they affect is *popular opinion:* but all, who know any thing, know this, that *popular opinion* is inſeparably attached to *riches and power*[s].

After many detours, Mr. *Bayle* is, at length, brought to own, that atheiſm is, indeed, in its natural tendency, deſtructive to ſociety; but then, he inſiſts upon it, that it never in effect becomes ſo,

III. *Becauſe* (and this is his next argument) *men do not act according to their principles*, nor ſet their practice by their opinions. He owns this to have

s—Πλέτῳ δ' ἀρέτη καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ.
Δαίμονι δ' οἷος ἔησθα— Heſiod. *Oper. & Dies.*

very much of a myſtery; but for the fact appeals to the obſervation of mankind: "For if it were "not ſo (ſays he)[t] how is it poſſible that Chriſtians, "who know ſo clearly by a revelation, ſupported "by ſo many miracles, that they muſt renounce "vice, if they would be eternally happy, and avoid "eternal miſery; who have ſo many excellent "preachers—ſo many zealous directors of con- "ſcience—ſo many books of devotion; how is it "poſſible, amidſt all this, that Chriſtians ſhould "live, as they do, in the moſt enormous diſor- "ders of vice?" And again[v], agreeably to this obſervation, he takes notice, "that *Cicero* hath "remarked how, that many *Epicureans*, contrary "to their principles, were good friends and honeſt "men; who accommodated their actions, not "to their principle, the deſire of pleaſure, but to "the rules of reaſon." Hence he concludes: "That thoſe lived better than they talked; where- "as others talked better than they lived. The "ſame remark (ſays he) hath been made on the "conduct of the *Stoics:* their principle was, "that all things arrived by an inevitable neceſſity, "which God himſelf was ſubject to. Now this "ſhould naturally have terminated in inaction; "and diſpoſed them to abſtain from exhortations, "promiſes, and menacing. On the contrary, "there was no ſect of philoſophers more given to "preaching; or whoſe whole conduct did more "plainly ſhew, that they thought themſelves the "abſolute maſters of their own deſtiny." The concluſion he draws from all this, and much more to the ſame purpoſe, is[w], that "therefore religion "doth not do that ſervice towards reſtraining vice

[t]—Si cela n'etoit pas, comment, *&c. Penſ. div.* c. cxxxvi.

[v] Cicéron l'a remarqué à l'égard de pluſieurs Epicuriens, *&c.* c. clxvii.

[w] *Contin. des Penſ. div.* c. cxlix.

"as

" as is pretended, nor atheism that injury, in en-
" couraging it: while each professor acts contrary
" to his proper principle."

Now from this conclusion, and from words dropped up and down[x], of the mysterious quality of this phænomenon, one would suspect Mr. *Bayle* thought, that there was some strange principle in man, that disposed him unaccountably to act in opposition to his opinions, whatever they were. And indeed so he must needs suppose, or he supposes nothing to the purpose: for if, on examination, it be found, that this principle, whatever it be, sometimes disposes men as violently to act *according to* their opinions, as at other times it inclines them to act *against* them, the *principle* will do Mr. *Bayle's* argument no service. And if the *principle*, after all, should prove to be only the violence of the irregular appetites, *it* will conclude directly against him. And by good luck, we have our adversary himself confessing, that this is indeed the case: for though, as I said, he commonly affects to give this perverse conduct a mysterious air, the necessary support of the sophistry of his conclusion; yet, when he is off his guard, we have him declaring the plain reason of it; as where he says, " The[y] general idea we entertain
" of a man, who believes a God, a heaven and a hell,
" leads us to think, that he would do every thing
" that he knows agreeable to the will of God; and
" avoid every thing that he knows to be disagree-

[x] Je conçois que c'est une chose bien étrange, qu'un homme qui vit bien moralement, & qui ne croit ni paradis, ni enfer. Mais j'en reviens toujours-là, que l'homme est une certaine creature, qui avec toute sa raison, n'agit pas toujours consequement à sa creance; ce seroit une chose plus infinie que de parcourir toutes les bizarreries de l'homme. Un Monstre plus monstrueux que les Centaures & que la Chimere de la fable. *Pens. div.* c. clxxvi.

[y] L'idée générale veut que, *&c. Pens. div.* c. cxxxv.

" able to it: But the life of man that ſhews, he does " the direct contrary. The reaſon is this: Man " does not determine himſelf to one action rather " than another by the general knowledge of what " he ought to do, but by the particular judgment " he paſſes on each diſtinct caſe, when he is on the " point of proceeding to action. This particular " judgment may, indeed, be conformable to " thoſe general ideas of *fit* and *right*; but, for the " moſt part, it is not ſo. *He complies, almoſt al-* " *ways, with the reigning paſſion of the heart, to* " *the bias of the temperament, to the force of con-* " *tracted habits*," &c. Now if this be the caſe, as in truth it is, we muſt needs draw from this principle the very contrary concluſion, that, if *men act not according to their opinions*, and that it is the force of the irregular appetites which cauſes this perverſity, a religioniſt will *often act againſt his principles*, but an atheiſt *never*; but *always conformably to them:* becauſe an atheiſt indulges his vicious paſſions, while he acts *according to his* principles, in the ſame manner that a religioniſt does, when he acts *againſt his*. It is therefore only *accidental* that men act contrary to their opinions; then, when they oppoſe their paſſions: or in Mr. *Bayle's* words, when *the general knowledge of what one ought to do, doth not coincide with the particular judgment one paſſes on each diſtinct caſe*; which judgment is ſo frequently directed by the paſſions: and this coincidence always happens in an atheiſt's determination of himſelf to action: ſo that the matter, when ſtripped of the parade of eloquence, and cleared from the perplexity of his abounding verbage, lies open to this eaſy anſwer.

We allow, men frequently act contrary to their opinions, both *metaphyſical* and *moral*, in the caſes Mr. *Bayle* puts.

1. *In*

1. *In metaphysical*, where the principle contradicts common sentiments, as the *stoical fate, and christian predestination*[z]: there, men rarely act in conformity to their opinions. But this case doth not at all affect the question, tho' Mr. *Bayle*, by urging it, would insinuate, that an atheist might be no more influenced, in practice, by his speculative opinion of *no God*, than a fatalist, by *his*, of *no liberty*. But the cases are widely different: for, as the existence of God restrains all the vicious appetites by enforcing the duties of morality, the disbelief of it, by taking off that restraint, would suffer, nay invite, the atheist to act according to his principles. But the opinion of *fate* having no such effect on the morality of actions, and at the same time contradicting common sentiments, we easily conceive how the maintainers of it are brought to act contrary to their principles. Nay, it will appear, when rightly considered, that the atheist would be so far from not acting according to his opinions, that were his principle of *no God*, added to the fatalist's of *no liberty*, it would then occasion the fatalist to act according to his opinions, though he acted contrary to them before; at least, if the cause Mr. *Bayle* assigns for men's not conforming their practice to their principles, be true: for the sole reason why the fatalist did not act according to his opinions, was, because they could not be used, while he was a theist, to the gratification of his passions; because, that though it appeared, if there were no liberty, men could have no merit; yet believing a God, the rewarder and punisher of men, as if they had merit, he would act likewise as if they had. But take away from him the belief of a God, and there would be then no cause why he should not act *ac-*

[z] *Pens. div.* c. clxxvi.

cording to his principle of *fate*, as far as relates to moral practice.

2. Next, *in morals*. We own that men here likewise frequently act contrary to their opinions: For the view (as we obſerved above) of the greateſt conſeſſed poſſible good, which, to a religioniſt, is the practice of virtue, will never, 'till it be conſidered as making a neceſſary part of *our* happineſs, excite us to the purſuit of it: and our irregular paſſions, which are of a contrary nature, while they continue importunate, and while one or other is perpetually ſoliciting us, will prevent us from thus conſidering virtue as making a neceſſary part of our happineſs. This is the true cauſe of all that diſorder in the life of man, which philoſophers ſo much admire; which the devout lament; and for which the moraliſt could never find a cure: where the appetites and reaſon are in perpetual conflict; and the man's practice is continually oppoſing his principles. But, on the other hand, an atheiſt, whoſe opinions lead him to conclude ſenſual pleaſure to be the greateſt poſſible good, muſt, by the concurrence of his paſſions, conſider it as making a neceſſary part of *his* happineſs: and then nothing can prevent his acting according to his principles.

We own, however, that the atheiſt, Mr. *Bayle* deſcribes, would be as apt, nay apter, to act againſt his opinions than a theiſt: but they are only thoſe ſlender opinions concerning *the obligation to virtuous practice* which Mr. *Bayle* hath given him: for if men do not purſue the greateſt conſeſſed poſſible good, 'till they conſider it as making a neceſſary part of their happineſs; I aſk, which is the likelieſt means of bringing them ſo to conſider it? Is it the reflection of *the innate idea of the lovelineſs of virtue*; or the more abſtract contemplation on its *eſſential difference* to vice? (and theſe are

are the only views in which an atheiſt can conſider it) or is it not rather the belief, that the practice of virtue, as religion teaches it, is attended with an infinite reward? To thoſe opinions, I ſay, an atheiſt is like enough to run counter: but his principles of impiety, which cheriſh his paſſions, we muſt never look to find at variance with his actions: for our adverſary tells us, that the reaſon why practice and principle ſo much differ, is the violence of human appetites: from which, a plain diſcourſer would have drawn the contrary concluſion; that then, there is the greater neceſſity to enforce religion, as an additional curb to licentiouſneſs; for that a curb it is, at leaſt in ſome degree, is agreed on all hands.

And here, at parting, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, how much this argument weakens one of the foregoing: *There* we are made to believe, that the *moral ſenſe* and *eſſential differences* are ſufficient to make men virtuous: *Here* we are taught, that theſe, with the *ſanction of a Providence* to boot, cannot do it in any tolerable degree.

As to the lives of his *Epicureans*, and other atheiſts, which we now come to; the reader is firſt of all deſired to take notice of the fallacy he would here obtrude upon us, in the judgment he makes of the nature of two different principles, by ſetting together the effects of *atheiſm*, as they appear in the majority of half a ſcore men; and *thoſe* of *religion*, as they appear in the majority of infinite multitudes: A kind of ſophiſm, which ſmall ſects in religion have perpetually in their mouths, when they compare their own morals with thoſe in large communities, from which they diſſent. And now, to come to his palmary argument taken from fact. For,

IV. In the laſt place, he ſays[a], "that the lives "of the ſeveral atheiſts of antiquity fully ſhew, "that this principle does not neceſſarily produce "depravity of morals." He inſtances "in *Diagoras*, "*Theodorus*, *Evemerus*, *Nicanor*, and *Hippon:* "whoſe virtue appeared ſo admirable to a father "of the church, that he would enrich religion "with it, and make theiſts of them, in ſpite of all "antiquity." And then deſcends to "*Epicurus*, "and his followers, whom their very enemies ac- "knowledged to be unblameable in their actions, "as the *Roman Atticus*, *Caſſius*, and elder *Pliny:*" and cloſes this illuſtrious catalogue with an encomium on the morality of *Vanini* and *Spinoſa*. But this is not all; for he tells us farther[b], of whole nations of atheiſts, "which modern travelers have "diſcovered in the iſlands or continents of *Afric* "and *America*, which, in point of morals, are "rather better, than worſe, than the idolaters who "live around them. It is true, that theſe atheiſts "are ſavages, without laws, magiſtrate, or civil "policy: but this (he ſays)[c] makes an argument "*à fortiori:* for if they live peaceably together "out of civil ſociety, much rather would they do "ſo in it, where equal laws reſtrain men from "injuſtice." He is ſo pleaſed with this argument, that he reduces it to this enthymeme[d]:

"Whole nations of atheiſts, divided into inde-
"pendent families, have preſerved themſelves
"from time immemorial without law.

"Therefore, much ſtronger reaſon have we to

[a] *Penſ. diver.* c. clxxiv. & *Contin. des Penſ. diver.* c. cxliv.
[b] *Contin. des Penſ. div.* c. lxxxv. & c. cxliv.
[c] *Contin. des Penſ. div.* c. cxviii.
[d] Des peuples athées diviſes en familles independantes ſe ſont, *&c.*

"think they would ſtill preſerve themſelves, were "they under one common maſter, and one com-"mon law, the equal diſtributer of rewards and "puniſhments."

In anſwer to all this, we ſay (having once again reminded the reader, that the queſtion between us is, *whether atheiſm would not have a pernicious effect on the body of a people in ſociety*) 1. That as to the lives of thoſe philoſophers, and heads of ſects, which Mr. *Bayle* hath thought fit ſo much to applaud, nothing can be collected from thence, in favour of the general influence of atheiſm on morality. We will take a view of the ſeveral motives thoſe men had to the practice of virtue: for hereby it will be ſeen, that not one of theſe motives (peculiar to their ſeveral characters, ends, and circumſtances) reaches the groſs body of a people, ſeized with the infection of this principle. In *ſome* of them it was the *moral ſenſe*, and the *eſſential difference of things*, that inclined them to virtue: but we have fully ſhewn above, that theſe are too weak to operate on the generality of mankind; though a few ſtudious, contemplative Men, of a more refined imagination and felicity of temperament, might be indeed influenced by them. In *others* it was a warm paſſion for fame, and love of glory. But though all degrees of men have this paſſion equally ſtrong, yet all have it not equally delicate: ſo that though *reputation* is what all affect, yet the groſs body of mankind is little ſolicitous from whence it ariſes; and reputation, or at leaſt the *marks* of it, which is all the people aſpire to, we have ſhewn, may be eaſily gained in a road very far from the real practice of virtue: in which road too the people are moſt ſtrongly tempted to purſue it. Very ſmall then is the number of thoſe, on whom theſe motives would operate,

as

as even *Pomponatius*, in his ample confeſſion taken above, hath acknowledged: and yet theſe are the moſt extenſive motives that theſe philoſophic atheiſts had to the practice of virtue: for, in the *reſt*, the motive muſt be owned to have been leſs legitimate, and reſtrained only to their peculiar end or circumſtances; as concern for the credit of that ſect they had founded, or eſpouſed: which they endeavoured to ennoble by this ſpurious luſtre. It is not eaſy to be conceived, how tender they were of the honour of their principles: The conference between *Pompey* and *Poſidonius* the Stoic, is a well-known ſtory[e]: and if the fear of only appearing ridiculous by their principles were ſtrong enough to make them do ſuch violence to themſelves, what muſt we believe the fear of becoming generally odious would do, where the principle has a natural tendency, as we ſee *Cardan* frankly confeſſes, to make the holder of it the object of public abhorrence? But if the ſenſe of ſhame was not ſtrong enough, ſelf-preſervation would force theſe men upon the practice of virtue: for though, of old, the magiſtrate gave great indulgence to philoſophic ſpeculations; yet this downright principle of atheiſm being univerſally underſtood to be deſtructive to ſociety, He frequently let looſe his ſevereſt reſentment againſt the maintainers of it: ſo that ſuch had no other way to diſarm his vengeance, than in perſuading him by their lives, that the principle had no ſuch deſtructive influence. In a word then, theſe motives being peculiar to the leaders of ſects, we ſee that the virtuous practice ariſing from thence makes nothing for the point in queſtion.

2. But he comes much cloſer to it, in his next

[e] *Tuſc. Diſp.* l. ii. c. 25.

inſtance;

inſtance; which is of whole nations of modern ſavages, who are all atheiſts, and yet live more virtuouſly than their idolatrous neighbours. And their being yet unpolicied, and in a ſtate of nature, makes, he thinks, the inſtance conclude more ſtrongly for him. Now, to let the truth of the fact paſs unqueſtioned[f], I ſhall endeavour to detect the ſophiſtry of his concluſion, which I had before obviated in the ſecond ſection[g] concerning the inſufficiency of human laws alone, in a fuller explanation of that reaſoning.

It is notorious, that man, in ſociety, is inceſſantly giving the affront to the laws of the community. To oppoſe which, the community is as conſtantly buſied in adding new ſtrength and force to its ordinances. If we enquire into the cauſe of this perverſeneſs, we ſhall find it no other than the number and violence of the appetites. The appetites take their birth from our real or imaginary wants: our *real* wants are unalterably the ſame; and, as ariſing only from the natural imbecillity of our condition, extremely few, and eaſily relieved. Our *fantaſtic* wants are infinitely numerous, to be brought under no certain meaſure or ſtandard; and increaſing ex-

[f] Homer ſeemed to have a very different opinion of the matter, when he makes the atheiſtical *Cyclopes* to be the moſt unjuſt and violent, as well as brutal, race of men upon earth. And what faith might be expected from ſuch a people, the poet gives us to underſtand, in that fine circumſtance, where one of them was accoſted by *Ulyſſes*, who was then a ſtranger to their principles. This wary hero, imploring the aſſiſtance of a *Cyclops* tells him with great openneſs who he was, whence he came, and the ſum of his adventures. But no ſooner had the monſter profeſſed himſelf a thorough *free-thinker*, than the experienced traveler loſt all hopes of faith or juſtice from him; and, from that moment, put himſelf upon his guard, and would not truſt him with one word of truth, more.

Ἀλλά μιν ἄψοῤῥον προσέφην δολίοις ἐπέεσσι.

[g] See p. 13.

actly

actly in proportion to our improvements in the arts of life. But the arts of life owe their original to ſociety[h]: and the more perfect the policy, the higher do thoſe improvements riſe; and, with them, are our wants, as we ſay, proportionably increaſed, and our appetites inflamed. For the violence of thoſe appetites, that ſeek the gratification of our imaginary wants, is much ſtronger than that raiſed by our real wants: not only becauſe thoſe wants are more numerous, which gives conſtant exerciſe to the appetites; and more unreaſonable, which makes the gratification proportionably difficult: and altogether unnatural, to which there is no meaſure; but, principally, becauſe vicious cuſtom hath affixed a *kind of reputation* to the gratification of the fantaſtic wants, which it hath not done to the relief of the real ones. So that when things are in this ſtate, we have ſhewn above, that even the moſt provident laws, without other aſſiſtance, are inſufficient. But in a ſtate of nature, unconſcious of the arts of life, men's wants are only real; and thoſe, few, and eaſily ſupplied. For food and covering are all that are neceſſary to ſupport our being. And Providence is abundant in its proviſions, for theſe wants: and while there is more than enough for all, it can hardly be that there ſhould be diſputes about any one's ſhare.

And now the reader ſees clearly how it might well be, that this rabble of atheiſts ſhould live peaceably in a ſtate of nature, though the utmoſt

[h] There is one remarkable circumſtance in the *Moſaic* hiſtory, that, I ſhould fancy, muſt needs give our *free-thinkers* a high idea either of the *veracity* or *penetration* of the author. It is, where, having repreſented *Cain* as the firſt who built a city, or made advances towards civil ſociety, he informs us, that his poſterity were the inventors of the arts of life, in the inſtances he gives of *Jabal*, *Jubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*.

force

force of human laws, in the improved condition of ſociety, could not hinder them from running into confuſion. But the ſophiſtry of this enthymeme is further ſeen from hence. Not Mr. *Bayle* himſelf would pretend, that theſe atheiſts, who live peaceably in their preſent ſtate, without the reſtraint of human laws, would live peaceably without that reſtraint, after they had underſtood and practiſed the arts of life in credit amongſt a civilized people. In ſociety therefore, which the arts of life inſeparably accompany, an impoſed curb, he will own, would be neceſſary. I then argue, If a people, who out of ſociety could live peaceably without the curb of law, cannot live peaceably without that curb in ſociety; what reaſon have you to believe, that, though out of ſociety they might live peaceably without the curb of religion, they could live peaceably without that curb in ſociety? The anſwer to this muſt bring on again the queſtion, How ſtrong the curb on man in ſociety ſhould be? which we have fully examined in another place. This argument, therefore, proves nothing but the folly of pretending to conclude, concerning man in ſociety, from what we ſee of his behaviour, out of it.

And here in concluſion, once for all, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, what an uniform ſtrain of ſophiſtry runs through all his reaſonings on this head. The queſtion is, and I have been frequently obliged to repeat it, Mr. *Bayle* ſo induſtriouſly affecting to forget or miſtake it, *whether atheiſm be deſtructive to the body of a ſociety?* And yet he, whoſe buſineſs is to prove the negative, brings all his arguments from conſiderations, which either affect not the groſs body of mankind, or affect not that body, in ſociety: in a word, from the lives of *ſophiſts* or *ſavages*; from the example of a few

ſpeculative

ſpeculative men far above the view of the common run of citizens; or from *that* of a barbarous crew of *ſavages* much farther below it. All his facts and reaſonings then being granted, they ſtill fall ſhort and wide of his concluſion.

But the laſt ſtroke of his apology is more extravagant than all the reſt: for having proved atheiſm very conſiſtent with a ſtate of nature, leſt it ſhould happen to be found not ſo conſiſtent with civil ſociety, but that one of them muſt riſe upon the ruins of the other, he gives a very palpable hint which of the two he thinks ſhould be preſerved; by making it a ſerious queſtion, diſcuſſed in a ſet diſſertation [i], WHETHER CIVIL SOCIETY BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MANKIND [k]? and very gravely reſolving it in the negative.

SECT. VI.

I Have now given, and to the beſt advantage, all the arguments Mr. *Bayle* hath employed to prove religion not neceſſary to civil ſociety; by which it may be ſeen how little the united force of wit and eloquence is able to produce for the ſupport of ſo outrageous a paradox.

The reader, will imagine, that now nothing could hinder us from going on to our *ſecond* propoſition; after having ſo ſtrongly ſupported the *firſt*. But we have yet to combat a greater monſter in morals before we can proceed.

As the great foundation of our propoſition, *that the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to civil ſociety*, is this, *that religion is neceſſary to civil ſociety*; ſo the foundation

[i] *Contin. des Penſ. div.* c. cxviii.

[k] Si les ſocietéz ſont abſolument neceſſaires pour conſerver le genre humain.

of

of this latter propoſition is, *that virtue is ſo.* Now, to the laſting opprobrium of our age and country, we have ſeen a writer publicly maintain, in a book ſo intituled, that PRIVATE VICES were PUBLIC BENEFITS. An unheard of impiety, wickedly advanced, and impudently avowed, againſt the univerſal voice of nature: in which *moral virtue* is repreſented as the invention of knaves; and *chriſtian virtue* as the impoſition of fools: in which (that his inſult on common ſenſe might equal what he puts on common honeſty) he aſſures his reader, that his book is a ſyſtem of moſt exalted morals and religion: And that the *juſtice of his country*, which publicly accuſed him, was pure calumny.

But it may be ſhewn, and that in very few words, to the admirers of the low impure buffoonry and childiſh rhetoric of this wordy diſclaimer, that his whole fabric is one continued heap of falſhoods and abſurdities.

I. *Firſt* then, it is to be obſerved, that though his general poſition be, *that private vices are public benefits*, yet, in his proof of it, he all along explains it by *vice only in a certain meaſure, and to a certain degree.* And, as all other writers have deduced the neceſſity on private men in ſociety, to be virtuous, and on the magiſtrate ſeverely to puniſh vice, from the *malignity of the nature of vice*; ſo he enforces this neceſſity, on both, from the *malignity of its exceſs.* And indeed he had been unfit to be reaſoned with, unleſs he had given this reſtriction to the general ſenſe of his propoſition.

However, no more need be ſaid to expoſe the falſhood of that aſſertion, which his whole book is written to ſupport, namely, *that vice is abſolutely neceſſary for a rich and powerful ſociety.*

For whatſoever is *abſolutely neceſſary* to the well being of another in matters of morals and politics, muſt

muſt be ſo, by its eſſential properties; the uſe of which thing will be, then, in proportion to its degree. And this the common moraliſts obſerve of virtue with regard to the ſtate[1]. But whatſoever is uſeful to another, only when in a certain degree, is not ſo by its eſſential properties; if not by its eſſential properties, then, of courſe, by accident only; and, if by accident, not neceſſary.

From hence it will appear, that a great and powerful community, which is, in itſelf, a natural good, and as ſuch deſireable, may procure and preſerve its grandeur without vice, though vice ſo frequently produces and ſupports it: becauſe this utility of vice not ariſing from its eſſential qualities, but from ſome accidental circumſtances attending

[1] The firſt part of this aſſertion may be proved thus. If A be abſolutely neceſſary to B, it is, becauſe neither C, nor D, nor any thing but A, can ſupply the wants of B. But if nothing but A can do this, it is, becauſe the ſupplial of thoſe wants is cauſed by the *eſſential* properties of A; which eſſential properties are incommunicable to all other beings; the communication of them to C, D, &c. making C and D the ſame as A, which is abſurd: for if the ſupplial of the wants of B were cauſed by what was not *eſſential* to A, but *accidental*; then might the wants of B, as well be ſupplied by C, D, &c. as by A; becauſe that which is *accidental* only, may belong in common to ſeveral different beings. The ſecond part may be proved thus: Theſe *eſſential qualities can never be exceſſive*; as for inſtance, There can never be too much *virtue* in a ſtate. Particular virtues, indeed, may be puſhed to exceſs; but then they loſe their nature, and become *vices*; ſo that in this condition ſociety will be ſo far from having too *much*, that it will have too *little* virtue: therefore that *eſſential* Quality in A, which in a lower Degree profits B, muſt in a higher Degree be ſtill more uſeful to B. Contrariwiſe, *accidental Qualities may be exceſſive*; ſo that, that *accidental* Quality in A, which profiteth B in a lower degree, may injure B in a higher. This is the caſe of *real luxury*, to a ſtate; as will be ſhewn in the progreſs of this ſection: for tho' virtue puſhed to an exceſs becomes vice, yet vice ſo carried never becomes virtue; but by advancing in malignity more clearly expoſes it's true nature, and effects.

it,

it, may be ſupplied by ſomething that is not vice attended with the ſame circumſtance. As for inſtance, the conſumption of the products of art and nature is the circumſtance that makes ſtates rich and flouriſhing. Now if this conſumption may be procured by actions not vicious, then may a ſtate become great and powerful without the aſſiſtance of vice. That it may, in fact, be thus procured, ſhall now be ſhewn.

II. The author deſcending to the enumeration of his proofs, appears plainly to have ſeen, that vice, in general, was only *accidentally* productive of good: and therefore avoids entering into an examination of particulars; but ſelects, out of his favourite tribe, LUXURY, to ſupport his execrable paradox; and on this alone reſts his cauſe. By the aſſiſtance of this ambiguous term, he keeps ſomething like an argument on foot, even after he hath left all the reſt of his city-crew to ſhift for themſelves. And it muſt be owned, there is no word more inconſtantly and capriciouſly applied to particular actions; or of more uncertain meaning, when denominating ſuch actions, than the term *Luxury*. For, unapplied, it has, like all other moral modes, an exact and preciſe ſignification; and includes in it, *the abuſe of the gifts of providence*. The difficulty is only to know what is an *abuſe*. Men have two ways of eſtimating the matter: the one, by the *principles of natural religion*; the other, by the *poſitive inſtitutions of revealed*. In thoſe *principles*, all men are reaſonably well agreed; but, concerning theſe *inſtitutions*, when taken ſeparately, and independent on thoſe principles, there are various opinions, which ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm have much embroiled: conſequently, thoſe who eſtimate *luxury* by this latter rule, where obſcurity and, of courſe, confuſion, are ſo hardly avoided,

will differ extremely about it: and amongſt ſuch diverſity of opinions, it would be ſtrange indeed, if ſome or other had not ideas of *luxury*, that would ſerve the wildeſt hypotheſis; and much ſtranger, if ſo corrupt a writer did not take advantage of them. He has done it like a maſter: and with a malice and cunning to intitle him, tho' he be but a follower, to the name of leader of a ſect.

Firſt, in order to perplex and obſcure our idea of *luxury*, he hath laboured in a previous diſſertation on *the origin of moral virtue*, to deſtroy thoſe very principles, by whoſe aſſiſtance we are only able to clear and aſcertain that idea: where he decries and ridicules the eſſential difference of things, the eternal notions of right and wrong; and makes VIRTUE, which common moraliſts deduce from thence, the offspring of mere craft and pride.

Nothing now being left to fix the idea of *luxury*, but the poſitive precepts of *chriſtianity*, and he having ſtript theſe of their only true and infallible interpreter, the principles of natural religion, it was eaſy for him to make them ſpeak to any abſurdities that would ſerve his purpoſe, and as eaſy to find ſuch abſurdities ſupported by the ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm of ſome or other of thoſe many ſects and parties of *chriſtianity*, who, deſpiſing the principles of the religion of nature, as *the weak and beggarly elements*, ſoon came to regard the natural appetites, as the graceleſs furniture of *the old man, with his affections and luſts*.

Having got *chriſtianity* at this advantage, he empoiſons all its precepts, by giving us, for goſpel, that cloudy phantom raiſed by the hypocriſy of *monks*, and the miſanthropy of *aſcetics*: which cries out, *an abuſe!* whenever the gifts of providence are *uſed* farther than for the bare ſuſtentation of life. So that by this rule every thing becomes

luxury

luxury which is more than *neceſſary*. An idea of *luxury* that exactly fitted our author's hypotheſis: for if no ſtate can be rich and powerful while its members ſeek only a bare ſubſiſtence, and, if what is more than a bare ſubſiſtence be *luxury*, and luxury be *vice*; the conſequence, you ſee, comes in pat, PRIVATE VICES ARE PUBLIC BENEFITS. Here you have the ſole iſſue of all this tumour of words. But it is difficult to think, that a writer of ſuch depravity of heart, had not farther ends in this wicked repreſentation of *natural* and *revealed* religion. Who can doubt he had, when it is ſeen what he gains by it; The fixing his followers in a prepoſſeſſion for *vice*, and in a prejudice againſt *chriſtianity?* For what can be urged ſtronger in favour of *vice*, than that there is really no ſuch thing as moral duty? What more in diſcredit of *chriſtianity*, than that all the enjoyments of life are condemned by it as evil?

III. But the goſpel is quite another thing than what bigots and fanatics are wont to repreſent it. It enjoins and forbids nothing in moral practice, but what natural religion had before enjoined and forbid. Neither indeed could it, becauſe one of God's revelations cannot contradict another; and becauſe he gave us the firſt, to judge of others by it. Accordingly we find, that though it be indeed one of the great ends of *Chriſtianity* (but not the main and peculiar end, as will be ſhewn hereafter) to advance the practice of moral virtue amongſt men, yet the New Teſtament doth not contain any regular or complete ſyſtem or digeſt of moral laws; the detached precepts enforced in it, how excellent and divine ſoever, ariſing only from the occaſions and circumſtances which gave birth to thoſe diſcourſes or writings, in which ſuch precepts are delivered. For the reſt, for a general knowledge of the ſyſtem of moral-duty, the found-

ers of our religion hold open to us the great pandect of the law of nature, and bid us ſearch and ſtudy that. *Finally*, ſays the apoſtle Paul, *whatſoever things are true, whatſoever things are honeſt, whatſoever things are juſt, whatſoever things are lovely, whatſoever things are of good report, think on theſe things.* But where vicious cuſtom, or perverſe interpreters, had depraved the religion of nature, there, particular care was taken to remove the rubbiſh of time and malice, and to reinſtate the injured moralities in their primitive dignity and ſplendor.

The *religion of nature*, then, being reſtored, and made the rule to explain and interpret the occaſional precepts of *chriſtianity*; what is *luxury* by *natural* religion, that, and that only, muſt be *luxury* by *revealed*. So that a true and preciſe definition of it, which this writer, (triumphing in the obſcurity that, by theſe arts, he hath thrown over the idea) thinks it impoſſible to give, ſo as not to ſuit with his hypotheſis, is eaſily ſettled. LUXURY *is the uſing the gifts of providence, to the injury of the uſer, either in his perſon or fortune; or to the injury of any other, towards whom he ſtands in any relation, which obliges him to aid and aſſiſtance.*

Now it is evident, even from the inſtances this writer brings of the public advantages of conſumption, which he indiſcriminately, and therefore falſly, calls *luxury*, that the utmoſt conſumption may be made, and ſo all the ends of a rich and powerful ſociety ſerved, without injury to the uſer, or any one, to whom he ſtands related: conſequently without *luxury*, and without vice. When the conſumption is attended with thoſe injuries, then it becomes *luxury*, then it becomes a vice. But then, let us take notice, that *this vice*, like all others, is ſo far from being advantageous to ſociety, that it is the moſt certain ruin of it. It was this *luxury* that

that destroyed *Rome*. And the very definition given above, informs us of the manner how; namely, by enervating the body, debauching the mind, beggaring the fortune, and bringing in the practice of universal rapine and injustice. But the wretched absurdity of supposing *luxury* beneficial to society, cannot be better exposed, than by considering, that, as *luxury* is the abusing the gifts of providence, to the injury of those to whom we stand related; and as the *public* is that, to which every man stands nearest related; the consequence is, that *luxury* is, at one and the same time, beneficial and injurious to the public. Nor can the absurdity I here charge upon him, be evaded by saying it is deduced from a proposition of his, and a definition of mine, set together: Because, however we may differ whether the use of things, where no one is injured, be *luxury*; yet we both agree in this, that where there is that injury in the use, it is *luxury*; and luxury, in this sense, he holds to be beneficial to society.

The case I here put, of *luxury's* injuring the *public*, by depriving the state of that aid and assistance from particulars, which, the relation they stand in to it, requires them to give, is no imaginary or unlikely supposition. This effect of *luxury* it was that contributed, more immediately than any other, to the destruction of the *Roman* commonwealth. For in the last struggles for liberty by a few, against the humour of a debauched luxurious people, when nothing but a sufficient fund was wanting to enable those godlike men to restore the republic, the richest citizens, who yet wished well to their country, could not be prevailed on to retrench from their private luxury, to support the public in this critical exigency: which therefore, having been long shaken by the *luxury*

of its enemies, fell now a ſacrifice to the *luxury* of its friends. Thus the great *Roman patriot* deſcribes the fatal condition of thoſe times: *Nos habemus luxuriam, atque avaritiam; publice egeſtatem, privatim opulentiam.*

In a word then, it is not *luxury*, but the *conſumption* of the products of art and nature, which is of ſo high benefit to ſociety. That this latter may well be, without the former, appears plainly from the definition given above. All the difference is, and that a very eſſential one, when the *conſumption* is made without *luxury*, infinitely greater numbers ſhare in it; when it becomes *luxury*, it is confined to fewer. The reaſon of this, and the different effects this different conſumption muſt have on the public, is very evident. Had the conſumption of the commodities and products of Greece when conquered, (which indeed were neceſſary to render the Romans polite and wealthy,) been more equally made by that people, it would have been extremely beneficial. But being unjuſtly claimed by one part, excluſive of the reſt[m], it became luxury and deſtruction. The Roman hiſtorian ſhews us how it was brought about: "There (ſays he) the Roman people firſt began to "intrigue, to debauch, to affect a taſte for ſtatues, "pictures, and high-worked plate: to come at "which, they oppreſſed the private, plundered "the public, violated the temples of the gods, "and polluted and confounded every thing both "ſacred and profane[n]." Till at length,

Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

[m] Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio poſſidebat.

[n] Ibi primum inſuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, ſigna, tabulas pictas, vaſa cælata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere, delubra ſpoliare, ſacra profanaque omnia polluere.

BOOK

BOOK II.

SECT. I.

HAVING now proved the firſt PROPOSITION, *that the inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to the well-being of ſociety*, by conſiderations drawn from the *nature of man*, and the *genius of civil ſociety*; and cleared it from the objections of licentious wits;

I proceed to the *ſecond*; which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

This I ſhall endeavour to prove,

I. From the conduct of lawgivers, and inſtitutors of civil policy.

II. From the opinions of all the learners and teachers of wiſdom in the ſchools of ancient philoſophy.

I. FROM THE CONDUCT OF LAWGIVERS, AND INSTITUTORS OF CIVIL POLICY: who never omitted to propagate and confirm religion, where-ever they eſtabliſhed laws; religion, which was always firſt in their view, and laſt in their execution. They uſed it as the inſtrument to collect a body politic; and they applied it as the bond to tye and keep that body together: they *taught* it in civilizing man; and *eſtabliſhed* it to prevent his return to barbarity and a ſavage life. In a word, ſo inſeparable, in antiqui-

ty, were the ideas of LAWGIVING and RELIGION, that Plutarch, ſpeaking of the preference of atheiſm to ſuperſtition, ſuppoſes no other eſtabliſhment of divine worſhip than what was the work of the legiſlator. "How much happier would it have "been (ſays he) for the Carthaginians, had their "firſt lawgiver been like Critias or Diagoras, who "believed neither Gods nor Demons, rather than "ſuch a one as enjoined their public ſacrifices to "Saturn[a]"?

That the magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath taken the greateſt care and pains to inculcate and ſupport religion, we ſhall prove at large: That this care and pains muſt ariſe, and was employed, on account of its confeſſed and experienced utility to the ſtate, will need no proof.

But here it will be neceſſary to remind the reader of this previous truth, *that there never was, in any age of the world, from the moſt early accounts of time, to this preſent hour, any civil-policied nation or people, who had a religion, of which the chief foundation and ſupport was not the doctrine of a* FUTURE STATE *of rewards and puniſhments; the jewiſh people only excepted.* This, I preſume, our adverſaries will not deny. Mr. *Bayle*, the indulgent foſter-father of infidelity, confeſſeth it in the fulleſt manner, and with the utmoſt ingenuity: "Toutes les religions du "monde, tant la vraie que les fauſſes, roulent ſur "ce grand pivot, qu'il y a un juge inviſible qui "punit & qui recompenſe, *apres cette vie*, les acti-"ons de l'homme tant exterieures qu'interieures. "C'eſt de la que l'on ſupoſe que decoule la princi-"pale utilité de la religion:" And thinks, it was

[a] Τί δὲ Καρχηδονίοις ἐκ ἐλυσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβεῖν ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινὰ θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων νομίζειν, ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν εἰς τῷ Χρόνῳ ἐθυον; —— Περὶ δεισιδ.

the

the utility of that doctrine which ſet the magiſtrate upon inventing a religion for the ſtate: "C'eſt-le "principal motif qui eut animé ceux qui l'auroient "inventée[b]."

This truth, we beg the reader always to have in mind: So that when, in the ſequel of this diſcourſe, he meets with ancient teſtimonies for the neceſſity of RELIGION to ſociety, he may be ſure, that the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and puniſhments, was the chief idea included in that term. And on this account it is, that frequently, where the ancients ſpeak of the *ſource* of thoſe utilities, which can proceed only from the doctrine of a *future ſtate*, they give it the common name of *religion:* as on the other hand, they often call *religion* by the reſtrictive name of a *future ſtate:* On which account, I have not ſcrupled, throughout this diſcourſe, to uſe the ſame liberty of applying the generic or ſpecific term, one for the other, without any apprehenſion of being thought not to underſtand my argument, or of being miſunderſtood by others: Who when they ſee me bring the facts and opinions of antiquity, which ſhew the uſefulneſs of religion in general, to prove the uſefulneſs of the doctrine of a future ſtate in particular, will underſtand that I come home to my purpoſe, and to the full proof of my ſecond propoſition.

So that, had I done no more than produce *ſuch facts and opinions*, I had done all that was neceſſary. But ſince the bare *neceſſary* is eſteemed almoſt as poor and unhandſom a thing in literature as in civil life, I have employed the greateſt part of the preſent and following books to ſhew, from ancient facts and opinions, the more than ordinary care and concern of all the wiſe and learned for perpe-

[b] *Dict. Crit. & Hiſt.* Art. SPINOZA. *Rem.* (E.)

tuating

tuating the ſpecific doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.

Having premiſed thus much to prevent miſtakes, I proceed in the firſt place,

1. To ſhew, *in general*, the civil magiſtrate's care in this matter.

The popular doctrine of a providence, and, conſequently, of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, was, as we have ſaid, ſo univerſally received in the ancient world, that we cannot find any civilized country where it was not of national belief. The moſt ancient *Greek* poets, as *Muſæus*[c], *Orpheus*[d], *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *&c.* who have given ſyſtems of theology and religion, on the popular creed of thoſe nations, always reckon the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments as a fundamental article: And all ſucceeding writers have given teſtimony to the ſame continued plan. *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Ariſtophanes*, whoſe profeſſion it was to repreſent the manners and opinions of all civilized people, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, are full and expreſs to the ſame purpoſe. It is further recorded in the works of every ancient hiſtorian and philoſopher, which it would be endleſs to recite. But *Plutarch*, the moſt knowing of them all, ſhall ſpeak for the reſt: Examine[e] (ſays he, in his tract againſt *Colotes* the *Epicurean*) "the face of the globe, and you may find cities "unfortified, unlettered, without a regular ma- "giſtrate, or diſtinct habitations; without poſſeſſi- "ons, property, or the uſe of money, and un-

[c] *Plato Rep.* lib. 11. [d] Plutarch, *Vita Lucul.*

[e] —εὕροις δ' ἂν ἐπιὼν καὶ πόλεις ἀτειχίστους, ἀγραμμάτους, ἀβασιλεύτους, ἀοίκους, ἀχρημάτους, νομίσματι μὴ δεομένας, ἀπείρους θεάτρων καὶ γυμνασίων· ἀνίερον δὲ πόλεως καὶ ἀθέου, μὴ χαρμονὴν εὐχαῖς, μηδὲ ὅρκοις, μηδὲ μαντείαις, μηδὲ θυσίαις ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς, μηδὲ ἀποτροπαῖς κακῶν, εὐδεὶς ἐστιν οὐδὲ ἔσται γεγονὼς θεαλίτης.

"ſkilled

"skilled in all the magnificent and polite arts of "life: But a city without the knowledge of a God, "or religion; without the use of vows, oaths, "oracles, and sacrifices to procure good, or of "deprecatory rites to avert evil, no man can or "ever will find." And in his consolation to *Apollonius*, he declares it[f] was so ancient an opinion *that good men should be recompensed after death, that he could not reach either the author or original of it.* To the same purpose had *Cicero* and *Seneca* declared themselves before him. The first in these words; "[g] As our innate ideas discover to us that there are "Gods, whose attributes we deduce from reason; "so, *from the consent of all nations and people, we "conclude that the soul is immortal.*" The other thus: "When[h] we weigh the question of the im- "mortality of the soul, *the consent of all mankind, "in their fears and hopes of a future state*, is of no "small moment with us."

In a word, *Sextus Empiricus*, when he would discredit the argument for the being of a God, brought from universal consent, observes that it would prove too much; because it would prove the truth of the *poetic fables of hell*, in which there was as general a concurrence[i].

But of all nations, the *Egyptian* was most celebrated for its care in cultivating religion in general, and the doctrine of a future state in particular:

[f]—Καὶ τᾶυθ' ὕτως ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ διαμεμένομισμένα παρ' ἡμῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀθάνατον εἶδέναι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τῦ χρόνυ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅτε τὰ θέντα παρ' ὧτον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπείρων αἰῶνα τυγχάνοντι διὰ τέλυς ὄντα νενομισμένα.

[g]—Ut Deos esse naturâ opinamur, qualesque sint natione cognoscimus; sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium. *Tuscul. Disp.* l. i. c. 16.

[h] Cum de animarum æternitate differimus, non leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. *Ep.* 117.

[i] *Adv. Physicos*, l. viii. c. 2. *Comment.*

insomuch

inſomuch that one of the moſt ancient *Greek* hiſtorians affirms, *They were the firſt who built altars and erected ſtatues and temples to the Gods*[k], *and who taught that the ſoul of man was immortal.* And *Lucian* tells us[l], *That they were ſaid to be the firſt who had the knowledge of the Gods.* Which only amounts to this, that they were the firſt and wiſeſt policied people: as will appear preſently.

But to prove *the magiſtrate's care from hence.*— For this account of the antiquity and univerſality of religion is not given to evince its *truth*; for which purpoſe other writers have often and ſucceſsfully employed it; but to manifeſt its *uſe*; which will be beſt done by inquiring what ſhare the magiſtrate had in it.

I. Now though no civilized nation was ever without a religion in general, and this doctrine in particular; and though it was of general belief even before civil policy was inſtituted amongſt mankind; yet were there formerly, as now there are, many ſavage nations, that, when firſt diſcovered, appeared to have long loſt all traces of religion: A fact which implies ſome extraordinary care in the magiſtrate for its ſupport and preſervation. For if religion hath been ſupported in all places, at all times, and under all circumſtances, where there was a magiſtrate and civil policy; and ſcarce in any place, or under any circumſtance, where theſe were wanting; what other cauſe than the magiſtrate's contrivance can be aſſigned for it's ſupport?

If it ſhould be ſaid, which, I think, is the only plauſible thing can be ſaid, that the reaſon why

[k] Βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀποτεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους. Herod. Euterpe, c. 4.——Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσιν οἱ εἰπόντες ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι. *Id. ib.* c. 123.

[l] Πρῶτοι μὲ ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἔννοιαν λαβεῖν. *De Dea Syria,* initio.

the

the citizen had religion, and the ſavage none, might be, that, amongſt the advantages of civil life, the improvement and cultivation of the mind is one; which neceſſarily brings in the knowledge of God and religious obſervance: To this, it is ſufficient to reply, that all the national religions of the ancient and modern Gentile world are ſo groſs and irrational, that they could not be the product of reflection or improved reaſon, but were plainly of the magiſtrate's fitting up, adapted to the capacity of minds yet rude and uncultivated, which could bear nothing of a finer texture than what was made out of the genius of the nation and the nature of the government.

To give an inſtance of what we have been ſaying: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* in the South, and the people of *Canada* in North *America*, were on a level with regard to ſpeculative knowledge. Or, if there were any advantage, the *Canadians* had it. Theſe, when diſcovered, ſeemed to have no rudiments of religion: The *Mexicans* and *Peruians* had one formed, digeſted, and eſtabliſhed: but ſuch a religion, as diſcovered ſomething worſe than mere ignorance, but never could be the reſult of reformed thinking: However a religion it was that taught the great articles of the worſhip of a God, a providence, and a future ſtate. Now how happened it that theſe two great empires had a religion, and the *Canadians* none, but that the lawgivers of the former ſaw it neceſſary to countenance, add to, and perpetuate what they found [m], for the benefit of the ſtate? which advantage the *Canadians* wanting, they loſt, in courſe of time, the very footſteps of religion. If this will not be allowed it will be difficult to aſſign a reaſon.

[m] See Book III. Sect. 6. II. 1. and pag. *antepenult.*

Let

Let us ſuppoſe, according to the objection, that *Gentile* religion owes its birth to the improved and cultivated mind. Now, if we make collections from the nature of things, it will be found more likely that theſe northern ſavages ſhould longer preſerve the notions of God, and the practices of religion, than the ſouthern citizens, uninfluenced by their magiſtrates.

The way of reaſon to get to the knowledge of a God, beſt ſuited to the common capacity of man, is that very eaſy one, the contemplation of the works of nature: For this employment, the ſavage would have fitter opportunities given him by his vacant and ſedentary life; and by his conſtant view of nature, which all his travels, and all his amuſements, perpetually preſented to him naked and unſophiſticated. The *Comte de Boulainvilliers*, a writer by no means prejudiced in favour of religion, gives this reaſon why the *Arabians* preſerved ſo long, and with ſo much purity, their notions of the divinity [n].

On the other hand, nature, by which we come to the knowledge of a firſt cauſe, would be quite hid from the ſouthern citizen, buſied in the works of barbarous arts, and inhuman practices; and taken up with the ſlaviſh attendance on the will, and a more ſlaviſh imitation of the manners of a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Nor, if we may credit the relations of travellers, do the northern people any more neglect to exerciſe their reaſon than the ſouthern: It is conſtant, they are obſerved to have better intellects than thoſe nearer the ſun: which, being owing to the

[n] *La Vie de Mohammed*, p. 147. *Ed. Amſt.* 1731. Je reviens volontiers à la louange de la ſolitude des Arabes. Elle a conſervé chez eux plus longtems, & avec moins de mêlange, le ſentiment naturel de la veritable divinité, &c.

influence

influence of climes, is found to hold all the world over. Notwithſtanding this, the iſſue proved juſt the contrary; and, as we ſaid, the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans* had a religion, the *Canadians* none at all.

Who then can doubt that this was owing to the care and contrivance of the magiſtrate? But indeed (which makes this inſtance the more pertinent) the *fact* confirms the *reaſoning*. The founders of theſe two monarchies pretended to be the meſſengers and offspring of the Gods; and, in the manner of the Grecian, and other legiſlators, of whom more hereafter, pretended to inſpiration, eſtabliſhed religion, and conſtituted a form of worſhip.

II. But not only the *exiſtence*, but the *genius* too of Pagan religion, ſhews the magiſtrate's hand in its ſupport.

Firſt, As to the *origine* of their Gods.

Secondly, The *attributes* given to them; and

Thirdly, The *mode of public worſhip*.

Firſt, The idolatry of the Gentile ſtates was chiefly the worſhip of dead men; and theſe, kings, lawgivers, and founders of civil policy The benefit accruing to the ſtate both from the *conſecration* and the *worſhip* of ſuch Gods, ſhews it to be a contrivance of the lawgiver. For, 1. Nothing could be a greater excitement to good government than to ſhew the magiſtrate that the public benefits, which he ſhould invent, improve, or preſerve, would be rewarded with an immortality of fame and glory? *Cicero* gives this as the original of the civil apotheoſis. "It may be eaſily underſtood, that "the reaſon, why moſt cities proſecuted the me- "mory of their valiant men with divine honours, "was to ſpur up their citizens to virtue, that every "the moſt deſerving of them might encounter "dangers with the greater chearfullneſs in the "ſervice of his country. And for this very cauſe

" it was that, at Athens, Erectheus and his daugh-
" ters were received into the number of the Gods [o].
2. Nothing could make the people so observant of their laws, as a belief that the makers, framers, and administrators of them were become Gods; and did dispense a peculiar providence for their protection and support?

But the records of antiquity support this reasoning. The Egyptians were the first people who perfected civil policy, and established religion: And they were the first, too, who deified their kings, lawgivers, and publick benefactors [p]; as we may collect from the passage of *Herodotus*, quoted above, which says, *they were the first who built altars, and erected* statues *and temples to the Gods:* For the erecting *statues* was, by this historian, esteemed a certain mark that the worshipers believed the Gods had *human* natures; as appears from the reason he gives why the *Persians* had no *statues* of their Gods, namely, *because they did not believe as the Greeks, that the Gods had human natures* [q], that is, they did not believe the Gods were dead men deified: This as we say,

[o] Atque adeo in plerisque civitatibus intelligi potest, acuendæ virtutis gratiâ, quo libentiùs reipublicæ causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis filiæque ejus in numero deorum sunt. *Nat. Deor.* l. iii. c. 19.

[p] Ἄλλως δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασὶν, ὑπερξάλας μὲν ἄλλας, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινῇ ἀνθρώπων ὠφελείαν τετυχηκότας τὴν ἀθανασίαν· ὧν ἐνίους καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι καλὰ τὸν Αἴγυπτον. *Diod. Sic.* l. i. p. 8. *Steph. Ed.*

[q] Ὡς μοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔφη. *Clio.* à 131. *Valla* explains the word ἀνθρωποφυέας by *ex hominibus ortos*; and, I think, rightly: But our learned *Stanley*, in his notes to the *Persians* of *Æschylus*, understands it otherwise: and that it rather signifies *humana forma præditos*. I suppose it appeared harsh to him, that any one could imagine

the

was a practice, invented by the *Egyptians*; who, in process of time, taught the rest of the world their

the Gods had human natures; but the meaning is explained above. Yet the learned and ingenious writer of the *letters concerning mythology*, p. 217. sides with our country-man, and understands ἀνθρωποφυὴς to signify,—*made like a man*—or, *of the shape and figure of a man.* But if we regard the literal meaning of the two simples which make up this compound, we cannot avoid understanding it to signify, *being of man's nature.* How then does this learned writer support his criticism? By a passage from Hecatæus: who, on pretty much the same occasion, uses, (as he supposes) ἀνθρωπόμορφος, in the place of ἀνθρωποφυὴς; and ἀνθρωπόμορφος, he thinks, all will agree, must signify, *of the shape and figure of a man.* No, not if his own method of interpretation be right: for, if ἀνθρωποφυὴς, (transferred from the literal, to the figurative sense) must signify of man's *form*, then ἀνθρωπόμορφος so transferred, must signify *of man's nature.* But it is not true, that Hecatæus uses ἀνθρωπομορφος in the place of ἀνθρωποφυὴς. The propositions of Herodotus and Hecatæus are different, and therefore we may well suppose these two words, in the predicate of each, to be different. Herodotus, speaking of the PERSIANS, says, they had no statues of their Gods, because they did not believe, with the Greeks, that the Gods had *human natures* [ἀνθρωποφυέας]. And Hecatæus, speaking of MOSES, says, he permitted no images of the Gods, because he did not hold, with the gentiles, that God had a *human form* [ἀνθρωπόμορφον]. And their use of different words, as we shall now see, was with accuracy and discernment; for they were asserting different things. The question between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, (who worshiped many gods in common was, whether these Gods were *partakers of human nature*, ἀνθρωποφυέας; that is, whether they were dead men deified. But the question between *Moses* and the gentiles, was, whether the God of the universe had a *human form*, ἀνθρωπόμορφος: not whether *the gods had human natures*, for these gods the Jews had nothing to do with; they worshiped only the one God; and several of the gentiles, who had some knowledge of this one God, imagined he might have a *human form.* So that we see, the use of these two terms, on the same occasion, is so far from shewing their signification to be the *same*, as the learned writer supposes, that the occasion demonstrably shews their signification to be *different.* Let me only observe, it appeared so evident to Eusebius, that the custom of making the statues of the Gods in *human form* was an indication of their original from mortality, that he says,

myſtery [q]. So when arts and civil policy were brought into *Greece* by *Cadmus* and *Ceres* (the firſt, though a *Phenician* by birth, being an inhabitant of *Thebes* in *Egypt*; and the other, though coming immediately from *Sicily*, was yet a natural *Egyptian*) then, and not till then, began the cuſtom of deifying dead men; which ſoon over-ran all *Greece* and the reſt of *Europe* [r].

2. *The attributes and qualities aſſigned to their gods*, always correſponded with the nature and genius of the government. If this was gentle, benign, compaſſionate, and forgiving; goodneſs and mercy were moſt eſſential to the deity: But if ſevere, inexorable, captious, or unequal; the very Gods were tyrants; and expiations, atonements, luſtrations, and bloody ſacrifices compoſed the ſyſtem of religious worſhip.

" Gods partial, changefull, paſſionate, unjuſt,
" Whoſe attributes were rage, revenge, and luſt,

ἔ γέ τοι ἀληθὴς λόγος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε, μονονυχὶ φωνὴν ἀφιεὶς, θνητοὺς ἄνδρας μαρτυρῶν γεγονέναι τοὺς δηλουμένους. Euseb. προπαρ. β. γ.

[q] Προδιαθεῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν αὔθις σαφήνειαν, καὶ τῶν μετὰ μέρους ἀμφίνωσιν, ὅτι οἱ παλαιόταλοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρείαν εὑρόντας, ἢ τῷ καλά τι ἐν ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· εὐεργέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἡγεμόνας, ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν. *Philo Bibl. apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang.* l. ii. c. 9.

[r] Sir Iſaac Newton, who, probably, had not this matter in his thoughts, hath yet a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe in his *chronology of the Greeks:* " Idolatry (ſays he) began in " *Chaldæa* and *Egypt*.—The countries upon the *Tigris* and " the *Nile* being exceeding fertile, were firſt frequented by " mankind, and grew firſt into kingdoms; and THEREFORE " began firſt to adore their dead kings and queens:— Every " city ſet up the worſhip of its own founder and kings, and " by alliances and conqueſts they ſpread this worſhip, and at " length the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* brought into *Europe* " the practice of deifying the dead." Pag. 161.

" Such

"Such as the ſouls of cowards might conceive,
"And form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe [f]

But 3. *The mode of public worſhip* was alone ſufficient to betray the mover of the whole machine. The *object* of what we call *religion*, being God, conſidered as the creator and preſerver of a ſpecies of rational beings, the *ſubject* of it muſt needs be each individual of that ſpecies. This is that idea of religion, which our common reaſon approves. But now, in ancient paganiſm, *religion* was a very different thing: It had for its *ſubject* not only the *natural man*, that is, each individual; but likewiſe the *artificial man*, ſociety; by and for whom, all the *public* rites and ceremonies of it were inſtituted and performed. And while that part of pagan religion, whoſe *ſubject* were individuals, bore an inferior part, and was confeſſed to be under an unequal providence, the conſideration of which brought in the doctrine of a future ſtate for the ſupport of God's government; the other, whoſe ſubject was the artificial man, ſociety, taught a more equal providence, adminiſtred to the ſtate. The conſequence of which was, that religion and government ran into one another; and prodigies, and portents were as familiar as civil edicts; and as conſtantly bore their ſhare in the public adminiſtration: For the oracles, without which nothing was projected or executed, always denounced them as national directions; declarative of divine favour, or diſpleaſure; in which *particulars*, as ſuch, were not at all concerned: So that to accept or to avert the omen; to gratulate the mercy, or deprecate the judgment, the conſtant method was the revival of *old rites*, or the inſtitution of *new*. A reforma-

[f] *Eſſay on Man.*

tion of manners, or enforcement of ſumptuary laws never made part of the ſtate's atonement to the gods.

The oddneſs and notoriety of this fact ſo forceably ſtruck Mr. *Bayle's* imagination, that, miſtaking this for the whole of Paganiſm, he too haſtily concluded, that *the worſhip of falſe gods in the ancient world, did not at all influence morals* [t]: And from thence formed an argument to ſupport his favourite queſtion in behalf of atheiſm. This was a ſtrange concluſion: For though it be indeed true, that the *public* part of pagan religion had no influence on morals, it is utterly falſe that the *private* part had not: For in the doctrine of a future ſtate, which was the foundation of, and inſeparable from, this ſounder part of pagan religion whoſe ſubject was the *individual*, the merit and demerit, to which rewards and puniſhments were annexed, was virtue and vice only. This will be proved at large in the fourth ſection of the preſent book: Though I am ready to allow, that the nature and adminiſtration of the public part of pagan religion did lead *individuals*, into many wrong concluſions, concerning the efficacy of *exterior* acts of worſhip.

But what ſeems to have occaſioned Mr. *Bayle's* miſtake (beſides his following the fathers, who in their *declamations* againſt paganiſm have ſaid a great deal to the ſame purpoſe[v]) was his not re-

[t] *Penſées diverſes ſur un comete*, &c. And *Reponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial.* And *Continuation des Penſees diverſes*, &c.

[v] St. *Auſtin* himſelf cannot but own that the *Myſteries* were principally inſtituted for the promotion of virtue and a good life, even where he is accuſing *paganiſm* for its neglect of moral virtue: "Nec nobis neſcio quos ſuſurros pauciſſimorum "auribus anhelatos & arcana velut religione traditos jactent, "quibus vitæ probitas caſtitaſque diſcatur."—*Civ. Dei*, l. ii. c. 6. —"Iidem ipſi Dæmones —— perhibentur in adytis ſuis,

flecting

flecting that ancient hiſtory [w] only repreſents *one* part of the influence of paganiſm, that which it had on the public as a body: The *other*, the influence it had on individuals, it paſſes over in ſilence, as not its province.

Whoever now conſiders the genius of paganiſm in this view, (and unleſs he conſiders it in this view he will never be able to judge truly of it) can hardly doubt but the civil magiſtrate had a great hand in modelling *religion.* What it was that enabled him to give this extraordinary caſt to paganiſm, is not difficult to diſcover: For what could it be but that *popular diſpoſition* ariſing from, and the neceſſary conſequence of, thoſe general notions, which, by his invention and encouragement, had overſpread the heathen world? As 1. that there were local tutelary deities, who had taken upon themſelves, or were intruſted with the care and protection of particular nations and people; (of which, more hereafter.) 2. that thoſe great benefactors of mankind, who had reduced the ſcattered tribes and clans into civil ſociety, were become gods. 3. and laſtly, that their ſyſtems of laws and civil inſtitutes were plan-

" ſecretiſque penetralibus dare quædam bona præcepta de mori-
" bus quibuſdam velut electis ſacratis ſuis — Proinde malignitas
" dæmonum niſi alicubi ſe, quemadmodum ſcriptum in noſtris
" litteris novimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis, non implet ne-
" gotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo ſtre-
" pitu impietas impura circumſonat, & intus paucis caſtitas ſi-
" mulata vix ſonat: præbentur propatula pudendis, & ſecreta
" laudandis: decus latet, & dedecus patet," &c. c. 26.

[w] What is here ſaid of the genius of paganiſm well accounts for a circumſtance in ancient hiſtory, that very much embaraſſes the critics. They cannot conceive how it happened, that the beſt ancient hiſtorians, who underſtood ſo well what belonged to the nature of a compoſition, and how to give every ſort of work its due form, and were beſides ſo free from all vulgar ſuperſtition, ſhould ſo much abound in deſcriptions

ned and digeſted by the direction of the legiſlator's patron-deity [x].

On the whole then, The foregoing conſiderations of the *preſervation* of religion in general; the *origine* of the pagan Gods; their *attributes*; and the *mode of public worſhip*, will, I am perſuaded, incline the reader to think that, for the *univerſality of religious belief*, the world was chiefly indebted to the civil magiſtrate; how much ſoever the illegitimate or unnatural conſtitution of particular ſtates, or the defective views of particular lawgivers, contributed to deprave the true religion of nature; or, if you will, the *patriarchal*. The learned St. *Auſtin*, who excelled in the knowledge of antiquity, ſeems to have been determined by this way of thinking, when he gives it, as the reſult of his enquiries; that the civil magiſtrate had a large ſhare in pagan ſuperſtition. His words are theſe [y], "—Which indeed ſeems to have "been done on no other account but as it was the "buſineſs of princes, out of their wiſdom and

of religious rites and ceremonies; and in relations of omens, prodigies, and portents. Many an idle hypotheſis has been framed to give a ſolution of this difficulty; and many a tedious work compiled to juſtify theſe ancient hiſtorians, upon mere modern ideas. But now a plain and eaſy anſwer may be given to it. *This part* of pagan religion was ſo interwoven with the tranſactions of ſtate, that it became *eſſential* to civil hiſtory. And how much ſoever it may be ſuppoſed to have deformed ancient ſtory, yet the Critic and Philoſopher gain by what diſguſts the delicacy of the modern Politician; the Greek and Roman hiſtory being the repoſitory of all that concerns the *public part* of pagan religion.

[x] See the beginning of the next ſection.

[y] Quod utique non aliam ob cauſam factum videtur, niſi quia hominum principum velut prudentium & ſapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere — Homines principes ea, quæ vana eſſe noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera ſuadebant: Hoc modo eos civili ſocietati velut arctius alligantes, quo ſubditos poſſiderent. *De Civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 32.

"civil

" civil prudence, to deceive the people in their " religion—princes, under the name of religion, " perſuaded the people to believe thoſe things " true which they themſelves knew to be idle " fables. By this means, for their own eaſe in " government, tying them the more cloſely to " civil ſociety."

But if now it ſhould be objected, that it was natural for the people, left to themſelves, to run into *any* of theſe ſuperſtitions, we may readily allow it without prejudice to the argument: For they are always ſuch notions as are apt to be entertained and cheriſhed by vulgar minds, whoſe current the wiſe magiſtrate is accuſtomed and practiſed to turn to his advantage. For to think him capable of new modelling the human mind, by *making* men religious whom he did not *find* ſo, is, as will be ſhewn hereafter, a ſenſeleſs whimſy, whereby the atheiſt would account for the origin of religion. And, when it is ſeen that all theſe various modes of ſuperſtition concurred to promote the magiſtrate's end, it can hardly be doubted but he gave them that general direction. The *particular* parts of gentile religion, which further ſtrengthen and confirm this reaſoning, are not here inſiſted on. Their original will be clearly ſeen, when we come to ſhew the ſeveral methods employed by the magiſtrate for this great purpoſe. What thoſe methods were, the courſe of the argument now leads us to conſider.

SECT. II.

IT hath been ſhewn in general, from the EFFECT, that lawgivers and founders of civil policy did indeed ſupport and propagate religion. We ſhall now endeavour to explain the CAUSES of that effect,

in a particular enumeration of the arts they employed to that purpose.

I. The FIRST ſtep the legiſlator took, was to pretend a miſſion and revelation from ſome God, by whoſe command and direction he had framed the policy he would eſtabliſh. Thus *Amaſis* and *Mneves*, lawgivers of the *Egyptians* (from whence this cuſtom ſpread over *Greece* and *Aſia*) pretended to receive their laws from *Mercury*; *Zoroaſter* the lawgiver of the *Bactrians*, and *Zamolxis* lawgiver of the *Getes*, from *Veſta*; *Zathrauſtes* the lawgiver of the *Arimaſpi*, from a good ſpirit or genius; and all theſe moſt induſtriouſly and profeſſedly propagated the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* lawgivers of *Crete*, and *Lycaon* of *Arcadia*, pretended to an intercourſe with *Jupiter*; *Triptolemus* lawgiver of the *Athenians*, affected to be inſpired by *Ceres*; *Pythagoras*, and *Zaleucus*, who made laws for the *Crotoniates* and *Locrians*, aſcribed their inſtitutions to *Minerva*; *Lycurgus* of *Sparta*, profeſſed to act by the direction of *Apollo*; and *Romulus* and *Numa* of *Rome* put themſelves under the guidance of *Conſus*, and the Goddeſs *Egeria* [z]. In a word, there is hardly an old lawgiver on record, but what thus pretended to revelation, and the divine aſſiſtance. But had we the loſt books *of legiſlators* written by *Hermippus*, *Theophraſtus*, and *Apollodorus* [a], we ſhould have had a much fuller liſt of theſe inſpired ſtateſmen, and doubtleſs, many further lights upon the ſubject. The ſame method was practiſed by the founders of the *great outlying*

[z] *Diod. Sic.* l. i. & v. Ephorus apud Strabonem, l. x.—ſcite veteri ſcriptore apud *Suidam* in [Αγγάων]— *Ariſt. apud Schol. Pind. ad* x. *Olymp.*

[a] *Athen.* l. xiv. *D. Laertius.*

empires,

empires, as Sir *William Temple* calls them. Thus the first of the *Chinese* monarchs was called *Fagfour* or *Fanfur*, the *son of Heaven*, as we are told by the jesuits, from his pretensions to that relation. The *royal commentaries of Peru* inform us, that the founders of that empire were *Mango Copac*, and his wife and sister *Coya Mama*, who proclaimed themselves the son and daughter of the *Sun*, and sent from their father to reduce mankind from their savage and bestial life to one of order and society. *Tuisco* the founder of the German nations pretended to be sent upon the same message, as appears from his name, which signifies the interpreter [b], that is, of the Gods. *Thor* and *Odin*, the lawgivers of the *Western Goths*, laid claim likewise to inspiration and even to divinity [c]. The *Revelations* of *Mahomet* are too well known to be insisted on. But the race of these inspired lawgivers seems to have ended in *Genghizcan* the founder of the *Mogul* empire [d].

Such was the universal custom of the ancient world, to make *Gods* and *Prophets* of their first kings and lawgivers. Hence it is, that *Plato* makes *legislation* to have come from God, and not from man [e]. And that the constant epithets to

[b] Vide Sheringham, De Anglorum gentis origine, p. 86.

[c] Olim quidam magicæ artis imbuti, Thor videlicet & Othinus, obtentis simplicium animis, divinitatis sibi fastigium arrogare cœperunt. — Adeo namque fallaciæ eorum effectus percrebuit, ut in ipsis cæteri quandam numinum potentiam venerantes, eosque deos, vel *deorum complices* autumantes veneficiorum auctoribus solennia vota dependerent, & errori sacrilego respectum sacris debitum exhiberent *Saxo-Gram* l. vi. *Histor.*

[d] Ils ont attribué des revelations à *Genghizcan*; & pour porter la veneration des peuples aussi loin qu'elle pouvoit aller, ils lui ont donné de la divinité Ceux qui s'interessoient à son elevation eurent même l'insolence de le faire passer pour fils de Dieu. Sa mere plus modeste, dit seulement qu'il etoit FILS DU SOLEIL. Mr. *Petis de la Croix le pere*, *Histoire du Genghizcan*, c. 1.

[e] Θεὸς ἤ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, εἰλήφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν

kings,

kings, in *Homer*, are ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ *born of the Gods*, and ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ *bred* or *tutored by the Gods* [f].

From this general pretence to revelation we may collect the ſentiments of the ancient lawgivers concerning the uſe of religion to ſociety. For we muſt always have in mind what *Diodorus Siculus* ſo truly obſerves, *That they did this, not only to beget a veneration to their laws, but likewiſe to eſtabliſh the opinion of the ſuperintendency of the Gods over human affairs* [g]. One may venture to go farther, and ſay, that to *eſtabliſh this ſuperintendency* was their principal and direct aim, in all their pretenſions to inſpiration.

The reader may obſerve, that *Diodorus* does not ſo much as ſuſpect them of having a third end, diſtinct from theſe two; that is to ſay, the advancement of their own private intereſt. And this with great judgment. He knew well the difference between a LAWGIVER and a TYRANT. Such

νόμων διαθέσεως; ΚΛ. Θεὸς, ὦ ξένε, θεὸς, ὥς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν. De Leg. l. i.

[f] Θυμὸς ὃν μέγας ἐπὶ διοτρεφέϊ βασιλῆϊ. Il. B'. ὑ 196. which title of διοτρεφέϊ is not given, ſays Euſtathius on the place, to ſignify that ſuch a one is deſcended from Jupiter, but that he receives his honour and authority from him. Ἑρμηνεύει διατί ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ καὶ ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ τὲς βασιλεῖς λέγει, ὐχ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλαχσι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ΕΞ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ Η ΤΙΜΗ.

[g] Μάλα γὰρ τὰ παλαιὰν τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπλον βίαν καλάσασιν, τὴν μυθολογυμένην γεγονέναι ἐπί τε τῆς θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων, φεῖσαι φασὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀγράπλοις νόμοις χρήσασθαι τὰ πληθη βᾶν τὸν Μνεύην, ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινόταλον τῶν μνημονευομένων, ωροσποιηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τάτας, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίας ἐσομένας· καθάπερ παρ' Ἕλλησι ωοιῆσαι φασὶν ἐν μὲ τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, ωαρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκᾶργον· τὸν μὲν ωαρὰ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ ωαρ' Ἀπόλλωνος φήσανλα τάτας εἰληφέναι· καὶ ωαρ' ἑτέροις δὲ ωλείοσιν ἔθνεσι ωαραδέδοῦ τᾶτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι, καὶ ωολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς ωειθέσιν —

— εἴτε καὶ ωρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυώαμιν τῆς εὑρεῖν λεγομένην, τὰς νόμας ἀωολέψανλα τὸν ὄχλον, μᾶλλον ὑπακεσθαι διαλαβόνλας. L. i.

views

views became not the former; they deſtroyed his character, and changed him into his direct oppoſite; who applied every thing to his own intereſt; and this amongſt the reſt. *Ariſtotle*, in his maxims for ſetting up, and ſupporting a tyranny, lays this down for one, *to ſeem extremely attached to the worſhip of the Gods, for that men have no apprehenſion of injuſtice from ſuch as they take to be religious and to have a high ſenſe of providence. Nor will the people be apt to run into plots and conſpiracies againſt thoſe, whom they believe the Gods will, in their turn, fight for, and ſupport* [h]. And here it is worth noting, that, anciently, *Tyrants*, as well as lawgivers, gave all encouragement to religion; and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their irregular wills, not by convincing men that there was no juſt nor unjuſt in actions; but by perſuading them that the privilege of *divine right* exempted the tyrant from all moral obligation. Hence may be ſeen the abſurdity of *Hobbes's* ſcheme of politics, who, for the ſake of the magiſtrate, was for eradicating religion. But the ancients knew better; and ſo too did ſome of the moderns [i].

The queſtion then is, whether theſe pretenſions of the ancient lawgivers were for the ſake of civil policy *immediately*; or for the ſake of religion; and ſo *mediately* only for the other? For we muſt obſerve, that what is here ſhewn as contrived and done by the magiſtrate for religion, was not done *ultimately* for *that*, but for the ſake of the govern-

[h] Ἔτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς θεὰς φαίνεσθαι αἰεὶ σπουδάζοντα διαφερόντως, ἥδιόν τε γὰρ φοβεῖσθαι, τὸ παθεῖν τι παρὰ νόμον ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων, ἐὰν δεισιδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἧττον, ὡς συμμάχους ἔχοντι καὶ τὰς θεάς. Polit. l. v. c. 11.

[i] Et non è coſa piu neceſſaria à parere d'havere che queſta ultima qualita [religione] perche gli huomini in univerſale giudicano piu a gli occhi che alle mani, perché tocca à vedere a ciaſcuno a ſentire à pochi. *Machiavel del Principe*, c. 18.

ment.

ment. The queſtion, I ſay, then is, whether this pretence to inſpiration was made to eſtabliſh a *civil* or a *religious* ſociety? If a *civil*; the ends aimed at muſt be the *reception of his policy*, or *proviſion for their perpetuity*. I ſpeak not here of that third end, *the ſecuring a veneration, for them, to all poſterity*; and for a good reaſon, becauſe *this* is the very thing I contend for, ſuch *veneration* being only to be procured by the influence of religion, the peculiar mode of which, the pretended inſpiration introduces. The ends then in queſtion, are *reception for the policy*; *or* proviſion for their perpetual *obſervance*.

1. For their *reception*, there would be ſmall need of this expedient. 1. Civil laws are ſeen by all to be ſo neceſſary for the well being of every individual, that one can hardly conceive any need of the belief of divine command or aſſiſtance to bring men to embrace a ſcheme for aſſociating, or to eſtabliſh the right they have of ſo doing. *For* (as the great *Geographer* ſays) *Man was born with this inclination to aſſociate. It is an appetite common both to* Greeks *and* Barbarians: *for, being by nature a civil animal, he lives readily under one common policy or law* [k]. Beſides ſeveral of theſe legiſlators gave laws to a *willing people*, on the ſtrength of their perſonal character of virtue and wiſdom; and were called upon, to that office, in which nothing was wanting to beget the neceſſary veneration. And though it might poſſibly have happened to a people to be ſo far ſunk into brutality, as to be diſinclined towards the recovery of a reaſonable nature, like thoſe with

[k] Πέφυκε γὰρ ἄτω. Καὶ κοινόν ἐστι τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς Βαρβάροις· πολιτικοὶ γὰρ ὄντες, ἀπὸ προσπαίσματος κοινῆ ζῶσιν. Strabo, *Geogr.* l. xvi.

whom

whom it is ſaid *Orpheus* had to deal; *whom, being* ſavages, *without the knowledge of morality or law,* he reduced into ſociety, *by recommending to them piety to the Gods, and by teaching them the ways of ſuperſtition* [l]; yet this was not the caſe of moſt of thoſe with whom theſe lawgivers were concerned: and therefore if we would aſſign a cauſe *of this pretence to revelation* as extenſive as the fact, it muſt be that which is here given. But, 2dly, we find that, where religion was previouſly ſettled, no inſpiration was pretended. On this account neither *Draco* nor *Solon*, lawgivers of Athens, made claim to any: For they found religion well ſecured by the inſtitutions of *Triptolemus* and *Ion*. And we know, that, had *pretended inſpiration* been only, or principally, for the eaſier introduction and reception of civil policy, the ſanguinary laws of *Draco* had ſtood in more need of the ſanction of a revelation, than any other of antiquity. Indeed, *Maximus Tyrius* goes ſo far as to ſay, that *Draco* and *Solon* preſcribed nothing in their laws, concerning the Gods, and their worſhip [m]; which, if true, would make as much againſt us, on the other hand. But in this he is miſtaken. *Porphyry* quotes an expreſs law of *Draco's* concerning the mode of divine worſhip. *Let the Gods and our own country heroes be publicly worſhiped, according to the eſtabliſhed rites; when privately, according to every man's abilities, with terms of the greateſt regard and reverence; with the firſt fruits of their labours, and with annual*

[l] —Ὅτι θηριώδεις ὄλας τὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔτε ἔθη, ἔτε νόμους εἰδότας, εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν παρακαλέσας. *Heraclit. de Incred.* c. 23.

[m] Πῶ γὰρ Αθηναίοις συνιέναι, τὶ μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον, πῶς δὲ τιμητέον; ἐ γὰρ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχόντες δικασταὶ χίλιοι ταῦτα ἐξηλάζυσιν, ἐδὲ Σόλων τὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέγραφεν, ἐδὲ οἱ Δράκοντ⊙ σιμιοὶ νόμοι. *Diſſert.* xxxix.

libations [n].

libations[n]. *Andocides*[o] quotes another of *Solon*, which provides for the due and regular celebration of the *Eleusinian mysteries*. *Athenæus* does the same. And how considerable a part these were of divine worship, and of what importance to the very essence of religion, we shall see hereafter.

2. As to *a provision for the perpetuity of national laws and institutions*; This entered not into the intention of the old *Greek* legislation; nor, if it had, could it have been obtained by giving them a divine original. Amongst the wild projects of the barbarous eastern policy, one might find, perhaps, something like a system of *immutable* laws; but the *Grecian* lawgivers were too well acquainted with the nature of man, the genius of society, and the vicissitude of human things, ever to conceive so ridiculous a design. Besides, the *Egyptian* legislation, from which they borrowed all their civil wisdom, went upon very different principles. It directed public laws to be occasionally accommodated to the variety of times, places, and manners. But had they aimed at perpetuity, the belief of a divine imposition would not have served the turn; for it never entered their heads, that civil institutes became irrevocable by their issuing from the mouth of a God; or that the divinity of the sanction altered the mutability of their nature: the honour of this discovery is due to certain modern writers, who have found out that divine authority reduces all its commands to one and the same species. We have a notable instance of this

[n] Θεὸς τιμᾶν καὶ Ἥρωας ἐξχωρίους ἐν κοινῷ, ἑπομένους νόμοις πατρίοις, ἰδία καὶ δύναμιν σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καιρῶν, καὶ τελάνοις ἐπετείοις. *De Abst.* l. iv. § 22. according to the emendations of *Petit* and *Valentinus*.—The law is thus introduced, Θεσμὸς αἰώνιος τοῖς Ἀθίδα νεμομένοις, Κύριος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

[o] *Orat.* Περὶ Μυστηρίων, *apud Decem Orat.*

in

in the conduct of *Lycurgus*. He was the only exception to the general method, and ſingular in the idle attempt of making his laws perpetual. For his whole ſyſtem being forced and unnatural, the ſenſe of that imperfection, it is probable, put him upon the expedient of tying them on an unwilling people. But then *he did not apply* divine authority to this purpoſe; for, though he pretended to inſpiration like the reſt, and had his revelations from *Apollo*, yet he well knew that *Apollo's* authority would not be thought ſufficient to change the nature of poſitive laws: And therefore he bound the people by an oath to obſerve his policy, till his return from a voyage, which he had determined beforehand never to accompliſh.

Having ſhewn that there was no need of a pretence to revelation, for the eſtabliſhment of *civil policy*, it follows, that it was made for the ſake of *religion*.

SECT. III.

THE SECOND ſtep the legiſlators took to propagate and eſtabliſh *religion*, was to make the general doctrine of a providence (with which they prefaced and introduced their laws) the great ſanction of their inſtitutes. To this, *Plutarch*, in his tract againſt *Colotes* the *Epicurean*, refers where he obſerves, that *Colotes himſelf praiſes it*; *that, in civil inſtitutes, the firſt and moſt important article is the belief of the Gods. And ſo it was* (ſays he) *that, with vows, oaths, divinations, and omens,* Lycurgus *ſanctified the* Lacedemonians, Numa *the* Romans, *ancient* Ion *the* Athenians, *and* Deucalion *all the* Greeks *in general: And by* HOPES *and* FEARS *kept up amongſt them the awe and reverence of religion* [p]. On this practice was formed the

[p] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἥ γε τοῦ Κολώτης ἐπαινεῖ διαθήκας τῶν νόμων

precept

precept of the celebrated *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*; which ſect, as we ſhall hereafter, gave itſelf up more profeſſedly to legiſlation; and produced the moſt famous founders of civil policy; This lawgiver in the fragments of his work *de lege*, preſerved by *Stobæus*, delivers himſelf in this manner: *The firſt law of the conſtitution ſhould be for the ſupport of what relates to the Gods, the Dæmons and our parents, and, in general, of whatſoever is good and venerable* [q]. And in this manner, if we may believe antiquity, all their civil inſtitutes were prefaced; its conſtant phraſe being, when ſpeaking of a legiſlator, ΔΙΕΚΟΣΜΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ.

The only things of this kind now remaining, are the prefaces to the laws of ZALEUCUS and CHARONDAS, lawgivers of the *Locrians* and of the *Chalcidic* cities of *Italy* and *Sicily*, contemporaries with *Lycurgus* [r]. Theſe, by good fortune, are preſerved in *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. A great critic has indeed arraigned their authority; declared them ſpurious; and adjudged them for an impoſture of the *Ptolemaic* Age [s]. And was it as he ſuppoſes, the fragments would be rather ſtronger to our purpoſe: for, in that caſe, we muſt needs conclude, the very learned SOPHISTS who forged them had copied from the general practice of antiquity: And very learned they were,

πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἡ περὶ θεῶν δόξα, καὶ μέγιστον· ἢ καὶ Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ Νεμᾶς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ Ἴων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Δόυκαλίων Ἕλλησι ὁμοῦ τοι πάντας καθωσίωσαν, εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὅρκοις, καὶ μαντεύμασι, καὶ φήμαις, ἐμπαθεῖς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δι' ἐλπίδων ἅμα καὶ φόβων καθαγήσαντες.

q Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι. Stob. *de Rep.* Serm. xli.

r Arist. *Pol.* xii.

s *Diſſert. on the Epiſtles of* Phalaris, *with an Anſwer to the objections of Mr.* Boyle.

appears

appears both from the excellence of the compoſition, and the age of the pretended compoſers. Whereas, if the fragments be genuine, they do not ſo directly prove the *univerſality*, as the *antiquity*, of the practice. But as my aim is truth, and truth ſeeming to bear hard againſt this learned Critic's determination, we muſt ſtick by the common opinion, and examine what hath been offered in diſcredit of it.

The univerſal current of antiquity runs in favour of theſe remains, and for the reality of their author's legiſlative quality. *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, *Tully*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, the moſt learned and inquiſitive writers of their ſeveral ages, declare for the common opinion. However, *Timæus* thought fit to deny that *Zaleucus* had given laws to the *Locrians*; nay, that there ever was ſuch a lawgiver in being. We ſhall be the leſs ſurprized at this paradox, when we come to know the character and ſtudies of the man: he was by profeſſion an hiſtorian, but turned his talents to invent, to aggravate, and expoſe the faults and errors of the preceding writers of name and reputation. *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, three of the wiſeſt and moſt candid hiſtorians of Greece, have concurred to draw him in the moſt odious colours. The firſt ſpeaks of him in this manner: *How he came to be placed amongſt the principal writers of hiſtory, I know not.— He deſerves neither credit nor pardon of any one; having ſo manifeſtly tranſgreſſed all the rules of decency and decorum in his exceſſive calumnies, through an innate malignity of heart* [t]. This envious rabid temper,

[t] Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐκφέρεται δόξαν, ὡς ἔλκων τιλὼ τέτε συγγραφέως πρεσγασίαν,— Ἐκεῖ ⊙. δ' ἂν οὐκ εἰκότως τυγχάνοι συγγνώμης ὑδὲ πίτεως ὑπ' ὐδενός, διὰ τὸ περφανῶς ἐν ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἐκπίπτειν τὲ καθήκονλος, διὰ τὴν ἔμφυλον πικρίαν. *Excerp. ex l.* xii. *Hiſt.*

joined to a perverſity of mind, delighting in contradiction, gained him the title of EPITIMÆUS, the calumniator. And, what is a certain mark of a baſe and abject heart, he was as exceſſive in his flattery; as when he makes *Timoleon greater than the greateſt Gods* [v]. He took ſo much pleaſure in contradicting the moſt received truths, that he wrote a long treatiſe, with great fury and ill language, to prove that the bull of *Phalaris* was a mere fable. And yet *Diodorus* and *Polybius*, who tell us this, tell us likewiſe, that the very bull itſelf was exiſting in their time: To all which, he was ſo little ſolicitous about truth, that *Suidas* ſays, he was nick-named ΓΡΑΟΣΥΛΛΕΚΤΡΙΑ, *a compoſer of old wives fables. Polybius* informs us with what juſtice it was given him. *In cenſuring the faults of others, he puts on ſuch an air of ſeverity and confidence, as if he himſelf were exempt from failings, and ſtood in no need of indulgence. Yet are his own hiſtories ſtuffed with dreams and prodigies, with the moſt wild and improbable fables. In ſhort, full of old wives wonders, and of the loweſt and baſeſt ſuperſtition* [w]. Agreeable to all this, *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives him as the very pattern of a fabulous and ſatyric writer. And he appeared in every reſpect of ſo ill a character to Mr. *Bayle*, that this excellent critic did not ſcruple to ſay, that, "in all appearance, he had no better authority when he denied that *Zaleucus* had given laws "to the *Locrians* [x]." To ſay all in a word, he

[v] *Suidas in Timæo.* Τίμαιος δὲ μείζω φησιν Τιμολέοντα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Θεῶν.

[w] Οὗτος γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν πέλας καθηγορίαις πολλῷ ἐπιφαίνει δεινότητα καὶ τόλμαν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀποφάσεσιν ἀνυπονόητος καὶ τεράτων καὶ μυθῶν ἀπιθάνων, καὶ συλλήβδην καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγρώνης καὶ τερατείας; γυναικώδης ἐστὶ πλήρης. *Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. ex* l. xii.

[x] Et apparemment il ne fut pas mieux fondé, quand il nia que *Zaleucus* eût donné des loix à ce péuple, [les *Locriens*.]

was

was the CRITICAL HISTORIAN [y] of the *Greeks*; and yet this is the man, whom the learned writer hath thought fit to oppose to all antiquity, against *Zaleucus's* legislation and existence. It appears the more extraordinary, because he himself hath himself furnished his reader with a violent presumption against *Timæus's* authority, where he says [z], *That* Polybius *charges him with false representations relating to the* Locrians. He adds indeed, *that nothing is now extant that shews* Polybius *thought* Timæus *mistaken concerning* Zaleucus. But as *Polybius* quotes a law as of *Zaleucus*, it seems a proof, in so exact a writer, of his being well satisfied, that, amongst *Timæus's* falsehoods concerning the *Locrians*, one was his denying *Zaleucus* to be their lawgiver.

Timæus's reasons, antiquity hath not brought down to us: But the fragments of *Polybius* [a], mentioning his outrageous treatment of *Aristotle* concerning the origin of the *Locrians*, speak of one *Echecrates* a *Locrian*, from whom *Timæus* boasted he had received information on certain points in question: Hence the learned critic, as it would seem, concludes this to have been a part of the *Locrian's* intelligence, *that there was no such man as Zaleucus* [b]. As if, because *Timæus* relied on *Echecrates's* information in the dispute between him and *Aristotle*, therefore *Echecrates* must, of necessity, support all his paradoxes concerning that people. But admit *Echecrates* to have been of the same opinion with *Timæus*, in this matter; Is he, who, for aught we know, might be as singular and as whimsical, in point of contra-

[y] See *Clarendon and Whitlock compared.*

[z] *Differt. upon* Phalaris, p. 337.

[a] *Excerpta ex* Polybio *de Virt. & Vitiis, ex* l. xii.

[b] P. 336. *Differt upon* Phalaris.

diction, as *Timæus* himself, an evidence to be opposed to *Cicero's*; who tells us, that his clients the *Locrians* had, in his time, a tradition of *Zaleucus's* legislation [c]? And we may well presume, that *Cicero*, inquisitive as he was, in matters of antiquity, would examine this with care: and, had their archives reclaimed it, he had hardly thought it worth his while to mention their tradition. But, says the learned critic, *if* Echecrates, *in that age, did not believe there was any* Zaleucus, *he is certainly as credible as* Cicero's Locrians, *who came so many generations afterwards, after so many revolutions and changes in their government* [d]. This reasoning has small force, because from the same premises we may argue just the other way, and say, that if the tradition kept its ground through all those changes and revolutions of state, it would seem to have had a very strong foundation.

The authority then of *Timæus* against the existence and legislation of *Zaleucus* in general, is of no weight. Let us next see what the learned critic has to urge against the genuineness of those laws that go under *Zaleucus's* name. His arguments are of two kinds: the one drawn from the dialect, and from the use of several words, which are indeed later than his time; the other, from *Zaleucus's* being no *Pythagorean*.

1. The *words* objected to, are these,—Ἁπλᾶς ἢ παχείας—ἰσομιλήσιον—Κόσμον—Τραγῳδίαις. This, and the fragments being written in the common dialect, instead of the *Doric*, are, in the critic's opinion, sufficient evidence of the forgery.

He has employed a deal of good [e] learning,

[c] *De Legibus*, l. ii. c. 6.
[d] P. 336. *Dissert. upon* Phalaris.
[e] From p. 346 to 356 of the *Dissert.*

to

to prove the words to be all later than the time of *Zaleucus*.

Let us ſee then the moſt that can be made of this ſort of argument. And becauſe it is the beſt approved, and readieſt at hand for the detection of forgery, and ſuppoſed by ſome not a little to affect the ſacred writings themſelves, we will enquire into its force in general.

It muſt be owned, that an inſtrument offered as the hand-writing of any certain perſon, or age, which hath words or phraſes poſterior to its date, carries with it the deciſive marks of forgery. A public deed, or diploma, ſo diſcredited, is loſt for ever. And to ſuch, was this canon of criticiſm firſt applied with great ſucceſs. This encouraged following critics to try it on writings of another kind; and then, for want of a reaſonable diſtinction, they began to make very wild work indeed. For though in compoſitions of *abſtract ſpeculation*, or of *mere fancy and amuſement*, this touch might be applied with tolerable ſecurity, there being, for the moſt part, no occaſion or temptation to alter the diction of ſuch writings, eſpecially in the ancient languages, which ſuffered ſmall and ſlow change, becauſe one ſort of theſe works was only for the uſe of a few learned men; and the principal curioſity of the other conſiſted in the original phraſe; yet in public and practical writings of law and religion, this would prove a very fallacious teſt: It was the matter only that was regarded here. And, as the matter reſpected the whole people, it was of importance that the words and phraſes ſhould be neither obſcure, ambiguous, nor equivocal: This would neceſſitate alterations in them. Hence it appears to me, that the anſwer, commentators give to the like objection againſt the *Pentateuch*, is founded in good

ſenſe, and fully juſtified by the ſolution here attempted. The religion, law, and hiſtory of the *Jews* were incorporated; and it was, conſequently, the concern of every one to underſtand the Scriptures. Nor doth the ſuperſtitious regard, well known to have been long paid to the *words*, and even *letters* of ſcripture, at all weaken the force of this argument: for that ſuperſtition aroſe but from the time that the *maſoret* doctors fixed the reading, and added the vowel points. I have taken the opportunity, the ſubject afforded me, to touch upon this matter, becauſe it is the only argument of moment, urged by *Spinoſa*, againſt the antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, on which antiquity the general argument of this work is ſupported.

The application of all this is very eaſy to the caſe in hand: *Zaleucus's* fragment was part of a body of laws, which the people were obliged to underſtand; ſo that a change of old words and obſolete phraſes would be neceſſary: and to make *this* an argument againſt the antiquity of the fragment, would be the ſame good reaſoning as to ſuppoſe, that the remains of the *Twelve Tables*, or the earlier laws in our common *Statute books*, were the forgeries of later times, becauſe full of words unknown to the reſpective ages in which thoſe laws were compoſed and enacted. But, indeed, the change of obſcure words, or obſolete phraſes, for others more clear and intelligible, was a common practice amongſt the Pagan writers. *Porphyry*, making a collection of heathen oracles, profeſſes to have given them juſt as he found them, without the leaſt alteration; except, ſays he, changing an obſcure word, now and then, for one more clear: a practice, which, for its fairneſs and frequency, he ranks with amending a corrupted word, or reforming the metre [f].

[f] ἐπεὶ κἀγώ τι θεὸς μαλρύσομαι, ὡς ἐδὲν ἄτε προτέθεικα, ἄτε ἀσει-

But

But this licence was not confined to the ancients; for, being ſupported on the reaſon of things, it is likely all times ſhould afford examples of it. One of the editors of *Froiſſart*, ſpeaking of his author's text, ſays, "touchant le ſtile, & ancienne maniere d'e-"ſcrire de noſtre auteur, je ne doute point qu'il "n'ayt eſté quelques autrefois changé & aucune-"ment renouvellé ſelon les temps [g]."

As to the change of dialect, the great critic thus expreſſes himſelf: *The laſt argument I ſhall offer againſt the Laws of* Zaleucus, *is this, that the Preface of them, which* Stobæus *has produced, is written in the common dialect, whereas, it ought to be in the* Doric, *for that was the language of the* Locri. — *The laws of* Zaleucus *therefore are commentitious, becauſe they are not in* Doric [h].

What has been ſaid above ſhews this argument to have ſmall force; but it is urged with a peculiar ill grace by the learned critic, who, in his *Diſſertation upon Phalaris*, hath diſcovered, that *Ocellus Lucanus* wrote the treatiſe *Of the nature of the univerſe* in *Doric* [i]: and from thence rightly concludes, it ought *to be acknowledged for a genuine work, which hitherto learned men have doubted of, from this very buſineſs of its being writ in the* common *dialect. For we now ſee that every word of the true book is faithfully preſerved*; *the* Doric *being only changed into the ordinary language, at the fancy of ſome copier* [k]. Now, ſurely, the raſh ſuſpicions of thoſe *learned men* in the caſe of *Ocellus Lucanus*, ſhould have made him more cautious in indulging

λων τῶν χρηδέντων νοημάτων· εἰ μή πῃ λέξιν ἡμαξημένην διώρθωσα, ἢ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΦΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΕΒΗΚΑ, ἢ τὸ μέτρον ἐλλεῖπον ἀνεπλήρωσα, ἤ τι τῶν μὴ πρὸς τὴν προθεσιν συνηνόντων διέγραψα. *Porph.* apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib iii. cap. 7.

[g] *Denis Sauvage, Avertiſement aux Lecteurs.*

[h] P. 135, and 358. [i] P. 47. [k] P. 49.

his own. He ſhould have concluded, if this liberty was taken with books of mere ſpeculation, it was more likely to be indulged in works ſo neceſſary to be underſtood as a body of laws; eſpecially when he had obſerved (after *Porphyry*) *that the* Doric *is always clouded with obſcurity*[l].

Hence, doubtleſs, *trans-dialecting* was no rare practice. For, beſides this inſtance of *Ocellus Lucanus*, we have another, in the poems going under the name of *Orpheus:* which, *Jamblichus* ſays, were written in the *Doric* dialect. But now the fragments of theſe poems, left us by thoſe who did not write in *Doric*, are in the common dialect. It is plain then, they have been *trans-dialected.*

2. The learned critic's other argument for the impoſture runs thus: *The Report of* Zaleucus *being a* Pythagorean, *was gathered from ſome paſſages in the ſyſtem of laws aſcribed to him, for where elſe could they met with it? ſo that, if it can be proved he was more ancient than* Pythagoras, *this falſe ſtory of his being a* Pythagorean *being taken from that ſyſtem, muſt convict it of being a cheat*[m]. He then proceeds to prove him more ancient than *Pythagoras*; which he does, on the whole, with great force of learning and reaſoning, though his arguments are not all equally well choſen. As where he brings this for a proof that *Zaleucus* was no ſcholar of *Pythagoras*, "Becauſe he aſcribed all his laws to *Mi-*
"*nerva*, from whom he pretended to receive them
"in dreams: which (in the learned critic's opi-
"nion) has nothing of a *Pythagorean* in it. For
"*Pythagoras's* ſcholars aſcribed every thing to their
"maſter: it was always αὐτὸς ἔφα with them, *he*
"*ſaid it.* Therefore if *Zaleucus* had been of that
"ſociety, he would certainly have honoured his

[l] P. 317. [m] P. 337.

"maſter

" maſter, by imputing his laws to his inſtructions [n]." But this argument is of no weight: for, 1. From what has been ſeen above of the genius of ancient legiſlation, it appears, that the general practice required, and the nature of the thing diſpoſed the lawgiver to aſcribe his laws to the inſpiration of ſome god. 2. As to the famous αὐτὸς ἔφα, it was not peculiar to the *Pythagoreans*, but common to all the ſects of *Greece*, *jurare in verba magiſtri*. A device to keep them diſtinct and ſeparate from each other; and a compendious way of arguing amongſt thoſe of the ſame ſchool. It would then have been ridiculous to have urged its authority to any out of the ſect; more ſo, to the common people; and moſt of all, to them, upon public and practical matters; the αὐτὸς ἔφα being uſed only in points of ſpeculation, and in the ſchools of philoſophy. Indeed ſo unlucky is this argument, that, on the contrary, the reader will be apt to conclude, that this very circumſtance of *Zaleucus's* aſcribing his laws to *Minerva*, was one of the things that gave riſe and credit to the report of his being a *Pythagorean*. And, doubtleſs, it would have much weight with thoſe who did not carefully enough attend to the chronology. For *Zaleucus*, in this, might be thought to follow both the example and the precept of *Pythagoras*, who himſelf pretended to be inſpired by *Minerva*; and taught it to his ſcholars as the moſt efficacious way of eſtabliſhing civil juſtice, *to propagate the opinion of the Gods having an intimate intercourſe with mankind* [o].

But notwithſtanding the defect of this argument, the learned critic, as we ſaid, proves his point with great clearneſs, that *Zaleucus* was earlier than *Py-*

[n] P. 338.

[o] See *Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras.*

thagoras:

thagoras: and, in concluſion, draws the inference abovementioned, in theſe terms: *It was generally reported* Zaleucus *was a* Pythagorean; *it is proved he was not. This will refute the book itſelf. For if any intimation was given in the book, that the author was a* Pythagorean, *the impoſture is evident.* "*And yet it is hard to give any other reaſon, that* "*ſhould induce the later writers to call him a* Pytha- "gorean." *Some impoſtor, therefore, made a ſyſtem of laws under the name of* Zaleucus, *and in it gave a broad hint that he was a ſcholar of* Pythagoras.

Here he reſts his point. *If, then, it be not hard to give another reaſon, that ſhould induce the later writers to call him a Pythagorean,* his long diſcourſe to prove *Zaleucus* the earlier of the two, is of no kind of uſe to convict the pretended laws of impoſture. I have already hinted at another not improbable reaſon, which was his having the ſame inſpiring Goddeſs with *Pythagoras:* And this will be much ſtrengthened by this conſideration, that *Minerva* became the peculiar patroneſs of the *Pythagorean* lawgivers, on account of the aſſiſtance ſhe had given to their maſter. To which we may add theſe further circumſtances, that the laws were in *Doric* (and ſuppoſing them genuine, they certainly were ſo) which idiom was peculiar to the *Pythagoric* ſchool[P]: and, that the whole proem

P This we are told by *Jamblichus*: his words are, λέγεται τοίνυν ὡς φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ παλαιᾷ ἑκάστοις παρήγγελλον, *Vit. Pythag.* 194. *Kuſt. Ed.* Dr. *Bentley* underſtands them to ſignify, that *every one ſhould uſe his own mother-tongue.* And, indeed, without reading the context, one could ſcarce avoid giving this ſenſe to the paſſage. *Vizzanius,* — *that every one ſhould uſe the mother tongue of Crotona*; which was the *Doric. Of theſe,* the learned critic ſays, *which is the true, perhaps all competent readers will not be of one mind,* p. 386. But I believe there will be no great difference of opinions amongſt thoſe who weigh the following reaſons: 1. *Jamblichus adds,* τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον; by which I underſtand him to mean, that *the* Pytha-

of

of *Zaleucus's* laws was formed agreeably to the precepts of *Pythagoras* in this matter; who directs, that, next after the worship of the Gods, *Dæmon*,

goric *sect did not approve of a foreign or stranger dialect.* For if he meant, not the sect in general, but the particulars of which it was composed, the several provincial *Greeks* who entered into it; no *dialect* could be called *foreign* to one or other of them: if he meant the sect, which we may suppose had a *dialect* peculiar and consecrated to the community, all, but that, was *foreign* to it; and the expression becomes proper and pertinent. 2. *Jamblichus* in the same place tells us, that *Pythagoras* valued the *Doric* above the other *Greek* dialects, as most agreeable to the laws of harmony, Τὴν γὰρ Δώριαν διάλεκτον ἐναρμονίαν εἶναι: Now having made the essence of the soul to be harmony, it was no wonder he should chuse a dialect, which he supposed approached nearest to its nature; that the mind and tongue might go together. 3. *Pythagoras* seems here to have imitated his master *Orpheus*, from whom, as we shall see hereafter, he borrowed much of his philosophy; for *Jamblichus* tells us, that the old writings that went under the name of *Orpheus*, were composed in *Doric*. 4. But, lastly, a passage in *Porphyry's Life of Pythagoras*, seems alone sufficient to determine this matter: *Porphyry* giving the causes of the decay of the *Pythagoric* philosophy, assigns this for one, that *their commentaries were written in* Doric. Ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα Δωρίδι γεγράφθαι, p. 49. *Kust. Ed.* This is the clearest comment on the words in question, and determines them to the sense contended for. One would wonder, indeed, that so learned a critic could take them in any *other*. But the secret was this, Dr. *Bentley* having pretended to discover, that *Ocellus Lucanus* did not write his book in the common dialect, as it is now extant, but in *Doric*; (*Dissert. upon Phalaris, &c.* p. 47.) his adversaries (*Dissert. examined*, p. 54.) charge him with having stolen this discovery from *Vizzanius*. This, Dr. *Bently* flatly denies; (*Dissert. defended*, p. 384.) But the only proof he gives of his innocence, is, that the *Greek* passage, quoted above from *Jamblichus*, on which both he and *Vizzanius* had founded their discoveries, is differently translated by them. "The thing, as "I said it (says the Dr.) is thus; the *Pythagoreans* enjoined all "the *Grecks* that entered themselves into the society, to use every man his mother tongue (φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρῴᾳ.) *Ocellus*, "therefore, being a *Dorian* of *Lucania*, must have writ in the "*Doric*. This I *took* to be *Jamblichus's* meaning. But *Vizzanius* has represented it thus: that they enjoined all that came "to them to use the mother-tongue of *Crotona*, which was

and

and *Parent*-worſhip ſhould be enjoined [q]. Now, later writers, ſeeing theſe two viſible marks of a *Pythagorean*, might, without further reflexion, be reaſonably diſpoſed to think *Zaleucus* of that ſect. But, as the learned critic has well made out, from ſure chronological evidence, that this was a miſtake, we muſt ſeek for ſome other cauſe of the uniformity between them; which I take to be this: *Zaleucus*, when *Pythagoras* flouriſhed, was in the higheſt repute in *Greece* for legiſlation; which might incline this philoſopher to imitate him, both in his inſpiring goddeſs, and in the proem of his laws: ſo that poſterity only miſtook the copy for the original. This they might very well do; for *Pythagoras* and his ſect had ſoon engroſſed all the glory in fact of lawgiving: and this leads me to another probable cauſe of the common opinion of *Zaleucus's* being a *Pythagorean:* The character of this ſect, as will be ſeen hereafter, was ſo great for legiſlation, that after-ages thought nothing could be done to purpoſe in that way, which had not a *Pythagorean* for its author. So, beſides *Zaleucus*, the ancients ſuppoſed *Charondas*, *Numa* [r], *Zamolxis* [s], *Phytius*, *Theocles*, *Eli-*

" the *Doric*. — Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true " meaning of *Jamblichus*, perhaps all competent readers will " not be of a mind." The diffidence of this concluſion would make one ſuſpect the Dr. was now convinced, that *Vizzanius's* was the right meaning. Yet, I will venture to ſay, that the words of *Jamblichus*, as quoted by *Vizzanius* without the context, would have been underſtood by every man, ſkilled, as Dr. *Bentley* was, in *Greek*, in the different ſenſe he has given to them. From whence I conclude, that, when Dr. *Bentley* wrote his *Diſſertation on Phalaris*, he had ſeen the words of *Jamblichus* no where but in *Vizzanius*.

[q] Μετὰ ϑεὸν τε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, πλεῖστον ποιεῖσθαι λόγον γονέων. *Jamb. Vit. Pyth.* c. xxx.

[r] Quinetiam arbitror propter *Pythagoreorum* admirationem, Numam quoque regem *Pythagoreum* à poſterioribus exiſtimatum. *Tul. Tuſc. Diſp.* lib. iv. c. 1. [s] *Herod.* lib. iv.

caon,

caon, *Aristocrates*, nay the very *Druids*[t], the legislators of *Gaul*, and, in a word, all the eminent lawgivers that lived any thing near the time of *Pythagoras*, to be instructed by him. But will the learned critic say, that, *therefore*, all these legislators were imaginary persons, and did not give laws to their several cities? This notion, arising from *Pythagoras's* great character and reputation, was nursed up and improved by his followers themselves, to beget honour to their master; as, in fact, appears from several passages in *Jamblichus's* life of that Philosopher. So that was there no more in it than this; as *Zaleucus's* institutions were in great repute, we might very naturally account for the mistake.

But, lastly, it is, indeed, very true, (as the learned critic suspected) that the principal ground *of the report of* Zaleucus *being a* Pythagorean, *was from some passages in the system of laws ascribed to him.* He is only too hasty in his conclusion, that therefore *these must needs convict the system of a cheat.* What hurried him on, was his supposing, that no such *report could be gathered from passages in the system*, but such as must be *an intimation that the author was a Pythagorean:* and that there is no difference between *giving* and *taking* an intimation. If, then, this report might be gathered from passages which contained no *intimation*, and if the reader might understand that to be an *intimation*, which the writer never intended for such; the consequence will be, that the credit of these fragments will remain unshaken, though we grant the learned critic his whole premises, and all the facts he contends for.

It seems, then, to be certain, that the report of *Zaleucus's* being a *Pythagorean* arose principal-

[t] *Ammian Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 9.

ly

ly from a paſſage in his ſyſtem of laws. And it is not difficult to diſcover what it was. *Zaleucus* in his preface ſpeaks of an evil genius or *Dæmon*, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ, as influencing men to wickedneſs. This, though a notion of the higheſt [v] antiquity, whoſe origin and author are much diſputed, yet became at length the diſtinguiſhing doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*. *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of *Pythagoras's* opinion of the firſt principle, ſays, that that philoſopher called the *Monad*, God, and *Duad*, the EVIL GENIUS [w]. Which *Duad* the *Pythagoreans* uſed extremely to vilify, as the cauſe of all evil, under the name of the *bad principle*, as *Plutarch* would make us believe [x]. The application of this doctrine I ſuppoſe *Pythagoras* might borrow from *Zaleucus*, and here again poſterity be miſtaken

[v] Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ παρεσυλέρους φησὶ (Μάγους) τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ. *Diog. Laert. Vit. Phil.* Proœm. Seg. 8. Οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῶν ΠΑΝΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ τῶν ἀποπάταλον ἀναγκαδῶμεν παρεισδέχεσθαι λόγον ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαιμόνια καὶ βάσκανα, παρεφθονηθέντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αἰτιάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλλοντα τὴν ἀρετήν· ὡς μὴ διαμείναντες ἁπλῶτες ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, βελτίοσι ἐκείνων μοίρας μέλλα τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσιν. *Plutarch. Vita Dionis.*

[w] Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεὸν, καὶ τ' ἀγαθὸν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νοῦς· τὴν δ' ἀόριστον δυάδα, ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ καὶ τὸ ΚΑΚΟΝ, περὶ ἣν ἐστι τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. *De Plac. Phil.* lib. i. c. 7. p. 1624. E. S.

[x] Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγορικοὶ διὰ πλειόνων ὀνομάτων κατηγοροῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τὸ ἓν πεπερασμένον, τὸ μόνον, τὸ σῶον, τὸ περισσὸν, τὸ τέλειον, τὸ δεξιὸν, τὸ λαμπρὸν· τοῦ δὲ ΚΑΚΟΥ, τὴν ΔΥΑΔΑ, τὸ ἄπειρον, τὸ φερόμενον, τὸ καμπύλον, τὸ ἄρτιον, τὸ ἑτερόμηκες, τὸ ἄνισον, τὸ ἀριστερὸν, τὸ σκοτεινόν· ὥστε ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας. Περὶ ΙΣ. καὶ ΟΣΙΡ. p. 660. *St. Ed.* I ſuppoſe the reaſon, why Δυὰς was amongſt the ill names ſaid to be given by the *Pythagoreans*, to the bad principle, was, becauſe, in their ſuperſtitious deſignations of the various qualities of numbers, the Δυὰς is very heavily loaded. Ὅτι ἡ μὲν ΜΟΝΑΣ καλὰ τὴν ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ μέτρον λαμβάνει· ἡ δὲ Δυὰς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἔλλειψιν. *Anon. de Vita Pythag. apud Photium.*

only

only in the original author. However, we may collect from the same *Plutarch*, that that opinion was cultivated by all the ancient lawgivers. For this learned man, who favoured the notion of two principles, the one good, the other evil, affects, I observe, to draw every ancient writer, who but mentions an evil dæmon, into his own sect. In his treatise of *Isis* and *Osiris*, he speaks to this purpose, "That "it was a most ancient opinion, delivered as well "by LEGISLATORS as divines, that the world "was neither made by chance, neither did one "cause govern all things, without opposition [y]."

This notion therefore, delivered in the proem of *Zaleucus's* law, might be very well *taken* for an *intimation of the author's being a* Pythagorean, and yet, not being so *given*, it has not the least tendency to discredit the compilation.

On the whole then, I presume, it appears, that the credit of these remains stands unshaken by any thing the learned critic has advanced to the contrary; and that we may safely produce them as of the antiquity they lay claim to.

Thus *Zaleucus* begins his preface: "Every in-"habitant, whether of town or country, should "first of all be firmly persuaded of the being and "existence of the Gods: which belief he will be "readily induced to entertain, when he contem-"plates the heavens, regards the world, and ob-"serves the disposition, order, and harmony of "the universe; which can neither be the work "of blind chance, nor of man. These Gods are "to be worshiped as the cause of all the real "good we enjoy. Every one therefore should so

[y] Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιον αὕτη κάτεισιν ἐκ Θεολόγων καὶ NOMOΘETΩN — ὡς ἔτ' ἄνευ καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἰωρεῖται τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν, ἔτε εἷς ἐστιν ὁ κρατῶν καὶ καλῶν θύτην, ὥσπερ οἴαξιν ἢ τισι σωθηκίοις χαλινοῖς λόγῳ.

" purify

" purify, and poſſeſs his mind, as to have it clear " of all kinds of evil; being perſuaded that God " is not honoured by a wicked perſon, nor accept- " ably ſerved, like miſerable man, with ſumptuous " ceremonies, or taken with coſtly ſacrifices, but " with virtue only, and a conſtant diſpoſition to " good and juſt actions. On which account, " every one ſhould labour all he can to become " good, both in practice and principle, whereby " he will render himſelf dear and acceptable to " God; ſhould fear more what leads to ignominy " and diſhonour, than to loſs of wealth and for- " tune; and eſteem him the beſt citizen, who " gives up his worldly goods, rather than renounce " his honeſty and love of juſtice: But thoſe, whoſe " headſtrong appetites will not ſuffer them to be " drawn to theſe things, and whoſe hearts are " turned with a natural bias towards evil, whether " they be men or women, citizens or ſojourners, " ſhould be told, to have the Gods always in mind, " to think upon their nature, and of the judgments " they have in ſtore for wicked men; to *ſet before* " *themſelves the dreadful hour of death*, a period they " muſt all come to; *when the memory of evil actions* " *paſt will ſeize the ſinner with remorſe, accompanied* " *with the fruitleſs wiſh, that he had ſubmitted his* " *actions to the rules of juſtice.* Every one, there- " fore, ſhould ſo watch over his behaviour, *as if* " *that hour were ſtill preſent with him*, and attend- " ed all his motions: which will be the way to " keep up in himſelf an exact regard to right and " juſtice. BUT IF THE WICKED DEMON BE " INSTANT TO INFLUENCE HIM TO EVIL, let " him fly to the altars and temples of the Gods, " as the ſureſt aſylum from that crueleſt and wick- " edeſt of tyrants, Evil, and implore their aſſiſt- " ance to drive her far from him. To his end,

" let

" let him alſo have recourſe to thoſe, whoſe re-
" putations are high for probity and virtue [z];
" whom he may hear diſcourſe of the happineſs
" of good, and the vengeance attending evil
" men [a]."

One would wonder, that any man, who had attentively conſidered this admirable fragment, could think it the forgery of a ſophiſt. It is plain, the author of it underſtood human nature and ſociety

[z] Meaning the men ſet apart for the ſervice of religion, ſuch as Virgil deſcribes in his Elyſium,

Quique ſacerdotes caſti, dum vita manebat;
Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

Which not only ſhews the legiſlator's ſenſe of their uſe,, but of the neceſſity of their practiſing what they teach to others.

[a] Τὰς καλοκἀγάθίας τ῀ πόλιν κ῀ τὴν χώραν, πανίας πρῶτον πεπεῖσθαι χρὴ, κ῀ νομίζειν θεὺς ἓν, κ῀ ἀναβλέπουσας ἐς ὑρανὸν, κ῀ τ῀ κόσμον κ῀ τ῀ ἐν αὐτοῖς Διακόσμησιν, κ῀ τάξιν· ὑ γ῀ τύχης, ὑδ' ἀνθρώπων ἓν δημιουργήμαλα· σέβεσθαι δ῀ τύτες κ῀ τιμᾶν, ὡς αἰτίες ὄνλας ἀπάνλων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τ῀ καλὰ λόγον γίνομένων. Ἕκασον ὧν ἔχειν κ῀ πρασκυάζειν δεῖ τ῀ αὐτ῀ ψυχῇ, πάνλων τ῀ κακῶν καθαρὸν· ὡς ὑ τιμᾶ θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπε φαυλε, ὑδὲ θεραπάνλες δαπάναις, ὑδὲ τραπωδίαις τ῀ ἀλισκομένων, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπ῀, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ κ῀ πρᾳαιρέσῃ τ῀ καλῶν ἔργων κ῀ δικαίων. Διὸ ἕκασον δεῖ εἰς δυνάμιν ἀγαθὸν ἓν κ῀ πρᾴξῃ κ῀ πρᾳαιρέσῃ τ῀ μέλλονλα ἔσεσθαι θεοφιλῆ· κ῀ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὰς εἰς χρήματα ζημίας μᾶλλον τ῀ εἰς αἰσχύνλω τενόνλων· κ῀ πολίτλω ἀμείνονα ὀνομάζειν τὸν τ῀ ὑσίαν πρᾳϊέμενον μᾶλλον τ῀ καλ῀ κ῀ δικαίε· ὅσοις δ῀ μὴ ῥᾴδιον πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν ὁρμὴν πεπεῖσθαι, τὴν δ῀ ψυχὴν ἔχασιν εὐκίνηλον πρὸς ἀδικίαν ὧδ' ἡμῖν παρηγέλθω· πᾶσι τοῖς τοιέτοις πολίταις, κ῀ πολίτισι κ῀ ξωοίκοις μεμνῆσθαι θεῶν ὡς ὄνλων, κ῀ δίκας ὀπίσεμπόνλων τοῖς ἀδίκοις· κ῀ τίθεσθαι πρὸ ὀμμάτων τὸν καιρὸν τῦτον, ὃν ᾧ γίνε῀ τὸ τέλ῀ ἑκάσῳ τ῀ ἀπαλλαγῆς τ῀ ζῆν, πᾶσι δ῀ ἐμπίπλῃ μεταμέλεια τοῖς μέλλασι τελλᾶν, μεμνημένοις ὧν ἀδικήκασι, κ῀ ὁρμὴ τ῀ βέλεσθαι πάνλα πεπρᾶχθαι δικαίως αὐτοῖς. Διὸ δεῖ ἕκασον παρ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν ἀεὶ σωοικειῶν τὸν καιρὸν τῦτον, ὡς δὴ παρόνλα· ὕτω γ῀ ἂν μάλισα τ῀ καλ῀ κ῀ τ῀ δικαίῳ προσλιγῇ. ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ πρέπων πρὸς ἀδικίαν, βαρίζειν πρὸς ναοῖς κ῀ βωμοῖς κ῀ τεμένεσι, φεύγονλα τὴν ἀδικίαν, ὡς δέσποιναν ἀσεβεσάτην κ῀ χαλεπωλάτην ἐκβολὴν ονλα τ῀ θεῦ σωαπολλύπειν αὐτὸν· εἶναι δὲ κ῀ πρὸς ἄνδρας δόξαν ἔχονλας ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθίᾳ ἀκεσίμῳ· πρὸ εὐδαίμον῀ βίε, κ῀ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμωρίας ἵνα ἀπόρρέπῃ τ῀ ἀδίκων ἔργων. Apud Stobæum, *Serm.* xlii.

at another rate. He hath not only given us an exact portrait of natural religion; but, in applying it to the ſtate, hath explained the uſe and ſubſerviency of its parts to the three great claſſes of mankind. He hath recommended the intrinſic excellence of virtue, and compliance with the Will and example of the Gods, to thoſe who are of ſo ingenuous and well-framed a nature as to be always diſpoſed to embrace truth and right: to others, of a leſs heroic turn of mind, ſuch who idolize their honour, he holds out fame and ignominy, as the inſeparable attendants of good and evil actions: and, to the common run of more intractable and perverſe tempers, he preaches up the doctrine of *future rewards and puniſhments*[b]. I will only obſerve, it appears to have been from hence, that Pomponatius borrowed the beautiful paſſage,

[b] Some have affected not to underſtand, where it is, in the foregoing paſſage, that Zaleucus preaches up this doctrine. The place, methinks, was not hard to find: it is, where *wicked men* are bid *to ſet before themſelves the dreadful hour of death.* For how ſhould a picture of this ſcene allure men to virtue, or deter them from vice, but as it opens to them a view of thoſe rewards and puniſhments they are juſt going to receive. Hence, too, we learn what thoſe *hopes and fears* were, which Plutarch, in the paſſage p. 111. ſays the *ancient lawgivers* impreſſed upon the minds of the people, to keep up the awe and reverence of religion: for Plato aſſures us it was their general practice, to inculcate the diſtinction between ſoul and body; and to teach, that, at their ſeparation, the ſoul ſurvived the body; and this, ſays he, we ſhould believe upon their word, unleſs we would be thought to be out of our ſenſes. — πιστεύειν δ' αὖ κ) τοῖς ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΟΥΣΙ ταυθ' ὅτως ἔχειν, ἅπερ μὴ παλαίπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνων]. *De Legg.* lib. xi. But, in his next book, he informs us, more at large, why the ancient lawgivers inculcated that *diſtinction.* It was, in order to build upon it the belief of *a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*: for he ſays, the lawgivers were to be believed, when they teach the total difference between ſoul and body, that the former is immortal, and that when it is on the point of departing for the regions of immortality (where it muſt give an account of its conduct

which

which is quoted at large, in the first book of this discourse.

Thus Zaleucus. And much in the same fashion does Charondas introduce his Laws.

In imitation of this practice, PLATO likewise, and CICERO both preface their *Laws* with the sanctions of religion. And though these two great men were not, strictly speaking, lawgivers in form; yet we are not to suppose that what they wrote in this science, was like the dreams of the sophists, for the amusement of the idle and curious. They were both well practised in affairs, and deeply conversant in human nature; and they formed their speculative institutes on the plan, and in the spirit and views of ancient legislation: the foundation of Plato's being the *Attic Laws*; and the foundation of Cicero's, the *Twelve Tables:* who himself takes care to warn us of that particular. "In "imitation of Plato, the most learned, and, at "the same time, the wisest of the philosophers, "who wrote best [c] of a republic, and likewise, se- "parately, of the laws thereof, I think it will be

in the body) the good man will meet death with courage and constancy, and the evil man with affright and terror. And then takes occasion to mention the punishments reserved for the latter: πείθεσθαι δ' ἐγὶ τῷ νομοθέτη χρεὼν τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ λέγοντι ψυχὴν σώματος ἦ τὸ παῖν διαφέρεσαν· — τὸν δὲ ὕστα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὑπὸς ἀθανάτου ἔῆ, ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον, καὶ θεὸς ἄλλες ἀπιέναι δώσοντα λόγον, καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει, τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θαῤῥαλέον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερόν — ἀτιμωτὴς καὶ κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγίγιελο τῆς μέλ τὸν ὑβάδε βίον. And here let me observe, that Plato, in the words τῷ ἀγαθῷ θαῤῥαλέον, &c. seems to have had the very passage of Zaleucus in his eye, τίθεσθαι περὶ ὁμμάτων τὸν καιρὸν τέτον &c. — But this cavil had been obviated, Sect. I. of this Second Book, p. 88.

[c] I read here, with Turnebus, *qui princeps de rep. conscripsit.* Lambin objects to this reading, because we gather from Aristotle, that *Plato was not the first who wrote of a republic*; he supposing *princeps* signified *primus*, whereas it means *opti-*

" proper, before I give the law itſelf [d], to ſay " ſomewhat in recommendation of it: which, I " obſerve, was the method of Zaleucus and Cha- " rondas. For their ſyſtem of laws was not an " exerciſe of wit, or deſigned for the amuſement " of the indolent and curious, but compoſed for " the uſe of the public in their ſeveral cities. *Theſe* " *Plato imitated*; as thinking this likewiſe to be " the buſineſs of law; to gain ſomewhat of its " end by the gentler methods of perſuaſion, and " not carry every thing by force and fear of puniſh- " ment [e]."

mus. This was Tully's opinion of Plato, as may be gathered, from many places in his writings. And in this ſenſe Turnebus, without doubt, underſtood the word; a ſenſe familiar to his author, as in *Ver.* lib. iv. cap. 49. " in qua [*Patria*] " multis virtutibus & beneficiis floruit PRINCEPS." But the word *primus* itſelf is ſometimes uſed in *this* ſenſe of *princeps*; as in Virgil,

Prima quod ad Trojam ——

[d] " Ut priuſquam ipſam *legem* recitem, de ejus legis *laude* " dicam." This paſſage is not without its difficulty. If by LEX be meant the whole ſyſtem of his laws, which the tenor of the diſcourſe leads one to ſuppoſe; then, by LAUS, the *recommendation* of it, we are to underſtand his ſhewing, as he does in the following chapter, that the Gods intereſted themſelves very much in the obſervance of civil laws; which implies, that they were indeed their laws: and ſo Tully calls them, in the 4th chapter of this book: " Ita principem le- " gem illam, & ultimam, mentem eſſe dicebant omnia ratio- " ne aut cogentis, aut vetantis Dei; ex qua illa lex quam " Dii humano generi dederunt, recte eſt LAUDATA." And the ſhewing that civil laws came originally from the Gods, was the higheſt recommendation of them. But if by LEX we are to underſtand only the *firſt* law of the ſyſtem, which begins, " Ad Divos adeunto caſte," &c. then by LAUS is meant his ſhewing, as he does likewiſe in the following chapter, the uſe and ſervice of religion to civil ſociety.

[e] Sed, ut vir doctiſſimus fecit Plato, atque idem graviſſimus philoſophorum omnium, qui princeps de republica conſcripſit, idemque ſeparatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo eſſe faciendum; ut priuſquam ipſam legem recitem, de ejus legis laude dicam. Quod idem & Zaleucum & Charondam feciſſe video;

Here,

Here, we ſee, he intimates, that Plato and himſelf had the ſame view, in writing laws, with Zaleucus and Charondas; namely, the ſervice of the public. The difference between them was, that the two originals were employed by their country; and the two copieſts generouſly undertook an office they were not called to.

However, Plato and Cicero are the greateſt authorities antiquity affords, and the moſt deſerving to be heard in this matter. Plato makes it the neceſſary introduction to his laws, to eſtabliſh the *being and providence of the Gods* by a law againſt SACRILEGE. And he explains what he means by *ſacrilege*, in the following words: "Either the "denial of the being of the Gods; or, if that "be owned, the denial of their providence over "men; or, thirdly, the teaching, that they are "flexible, and eaſy to be cajoled by prayer and "ſacrifice[f]." And afterwards; "It is not of "ſmall conſequence, that what we here reaſon "about the Gods, ſhould, by all means, be made "probable; as, that they ARE; and, that they "are GOOD; and that their concern for juſtice "takes place of all other human conſiderations. "For this, in our opinion, ſeems to be the nobleſt "and beſt PREFACE that can be made to a body "of laws[g]." In compliance with this declara-

cum quidem illi non ſtudii & delectationis, ſed reipublicæ cauſa leges civitatibus ſuis ſcripſerunt. Quos imitatus Platò, videlicet hoc quoque legis putavit eſſe, perſuadere aliquid, non omnia vi ac minis cogere. *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 6.

[f] ἀλλὰ ἓν δή τι τῶν τριῶν πόσχων, ἢ τοῦτο — ᾗ χ ἡγέμενον, ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ὄντας, ὡ φαύλιζειν ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον, εὐπαραμυθήτους εἶναι θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παραιτουμένους. *De Legg.* lib. x.

[g] Διαφέρει δ' ὁ σμικρὸν ἁπανταχοῦ πιθανότητά τινα τοῖς λόγοις ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ὡς θεοί τ' εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀγαθοὶ, δικην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων· σχεδὸν γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων τῶν νομῶν κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον προοίμιον ἂν εἴη. id. ibid.

tion, Cicero's *Preface* to his laws, is conceived in the following terms: "Let our citizen then be "firſt of all firmly perſuaded of the government "and dominion of the Gods; that they are the "lords and maſters of the world; that all things "are diſpoſed by their power, direction, and pro-"vidence; and that the whole race of mankind is "in the higheſt manner indebted to them; that "they are intimately acquainted with every one's "ſtate and condition; that they know what he "does, what he thinks; with what diſpoſition of "mind, and with what degree of piety he per-"forms the acts and offices of religion; and that, "accordingly, they make a diſtinction between "the good and evil. The mind being imbued "with theſe opinions, will never deviate from "TRUTH and UTILITY. And what *truth* is more "evident than this, that no one ſhould be ſo ſtu-"pidly arrogant, as to ſuppoſe, there is mind and "reaſon in himſelf, and yet none in the heavens "and the world; or, that thoſe things, whoſe "uſes and directions can ſcarce be comprehended "with the utmoſt ſtretch of human faculties, may "yet perform their motions without an under-"ſtanding ruler? But, that man, whom the "courſes of the heavenly bodies, the viciſſitudes "of day and night, the orderly temperature of "the ſeaſons, and the various bleſſings which the "earth pours out for our ſuſtenance and pleaſure, "will not excite, nay compel to gratitude, is un-"fit even to be reckoned in the number of men. "And ſince things endowed with reaſon, are more "excellent than thoſe which want it; and that "it is impiety to ſay, any *particular* is more ex-"cellent than the *univerſal* nature; we muſt needs "confeſs this nature to be endowed with reaſon. "That theſe opinions are likewiſe *uſeful*, who can "deny,

" ny, when he considers what stability is derived " to the public from within, by the religion of " an oath; and what security it enjoys from with- " out, by those holy rites which affirm national " treaties and conventions: how efficacious the " fear of divine punishment is, to deter men from " wickedness; and what purity of manners must " reign in that society, where the immortal Gods " themselves are believed to interpose both as " judges and witnesses? Here you have the PROEM " of the law; for so Plato calls it [h]."

And then follow the laws themselves; the first of which is conceived in these words: " Let those " who approach the Gods, be pure and undefiled; " let their offerings be seasoned with piety, and " all ostentation of pomp omitted: the God him- " self will be his own avenger on transgressors.

[h] Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri vi, ditione, ac numine, eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sane abhorrebunt ab utili, & a vera sententia. Quid est enim verius, quàm neminem esse oportere tam stulte arrogantem, ut in se rationem & mentem putet inesse, in cœlo mundoque non putet? aut ut ea, quæ vix summa ingenii ratione comprehendat, nulla ratione moveri putet? Quem vero astrorum ordines, quem dierum noctiumque vicissitudines, quem mensium temperatio, quemque ea, quæ gignuntur nobis ad fruendum, non gratum esse cogant, hunc hominem omnino numerari qui decet? Cumque omnia, quæ rationem habent, præstent iis, quæ sint rationis expertia, nefasque sit dicere ullam rem præstare naturæ omnium rerum; rationem inesse in ea confitendum est. Utiles esse autem opiniones has, quis neget, cum intelligat, quàm multa firmentur jurejurando, quantæ salutis sint fœderum religiones, quàm multos divini supplicii metus a scelere revocarit; quamque sancta sit societas civium inter ipsos, Diis immortalibus interpositis tum judicibus tum testibus. Habes legis proœmium; sic enim hoc appellat Plato. *De Legg.* lib. ii. c. 7.

" Let the Gods, and thoſe who were ever reckon-
" ed in the number of celeſtials, be worſhiped:
" and thoſe likewiſe, whom their merits have raiſ-
" ed to heaven; ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus,
" Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux, and Romu-
" lus. And let chapels be erected in honour to
" thoſe qualities, by whoſe aid mortals arrive thi-
" ther, ſuch as Reason, Virtue, Piety, and
" Good-faith[i]."

SECT. IV.

THE next ſtep the legiſlator took, was to ſupport and affirm the general doctrine of a *providence*, which he had delivered in his *laws*, by a very circumſtantial and popular method of inculcating the belief of a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*.

This was by the inſtitution of the Mysteries, the moſt ſacred part of pagan religion; and artfully framed to ſtrike deeply and forcibly into the minds and imaginations of the people.

I propoſe, therefore, to give a full and diſtinct account of this whole matter: and the rather, becauſe it is a thing little known or attended to: the ancients, who wrote expreſly on the *Myſteries*, ſuch as Melanthius, Menander, Hiceſius, Sotades, and others, not being come down to us. So that the modern writers on this ſubject are altogether in the dark concerning their origine and end; not excepting Meurſius himſelf: to whom,

[i] Ad divos adeunto caſtè; pietatem adhibento; opes amovento: qui ſecus faxit, Deus ipſe vindex erit. — Divos, & eos qui cœleſtes ſemper habiti, colunto: & ollos, quos endo cœlo merita locaverunt, Herculem, Liberum, Æſculapium, Caſtorem, Polluçem, Quirinum. Aſt olla, propter quæ datur homini adſcenſus in cœlum, mentem, virtutem, pietatem, fidem, earumque laudum delubra ſunto. *De Legg.* lib. ii. c. 8.

however,

however, I am much indebted, for abridging my labour in the ſearch of thoſe paſſages of antiquity, which make mention of the ELEUSINIAN *Myſteries*, and for bringing the greater part of them together under one view [k].

To avoid ambiguity, it will be proper to explain the term. Each of the *pagan* Gods had (beſides the *public* and *open*) a *ſecret worſhip* [l] paid unto him: to which none were admitted but thoſe who had been ſelected by preparatory ceremonies, called INITIATION. This *ſecret worſhip* was termed the MYSTERIES.

But though every God had, beſides his *open* worſhip, the *ſecret* likewiſe; yet this latter did not *every where* attend the former; but only *there*, where he was the patron God, or in principal eſteem. Thus, when in conſequence of that intercommunity of paganiſm, which will be explained hereafter, one nation adopted the Gods of another, they did not always take in at the ſame time, the *ſecret worſhip* or *Myſteries* of that God: ſo, in Rome, the public and open worſhip of Bacchus was in uſe long before his myſteries were admitted. But, on the other hand again, the worſhip of the ſtrange God was ſometimes introduced only for the ſake of his *Myſteries*: as, in the ſame city, that of Iſis and Oſiris. Thus ſtood the caſe in general, the particular exceptions to it, will be ſeen in the ſequel of this diſſertation.

[k] *Eleuſinia: ſive de Cereris Eleuſinæ ſacro.*

[l] Strabo, in his tenth book of his Geography, p. 716. Gron. Ed. writes thus: Κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐστὶ, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιΐας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἑορταστικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σωὶ ἐνθουσιασμῷ, τὰς δὲ χωρὶς· καὶ ταῖς μὲν μετὰ μυστικῆς, τὰς δὲ μή· ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΣ, ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΦΑΝΕΡΩι· καὶ τεθ' ἡ φύσις ἔτως ὑπαλοιεύφ.

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The first and original *Mysteries*, of which we have any sure account, were those of Isis and Osiris in EGYPT; from whence they were derived to the GREEKS[m], under the presidency of various Gods[n], as the institutor thought most for his purpose: Zoroaster brought them into Persia; Cadmus and Inachus into Greece at large[o]; Orpheus into Thrace; Melampus into Argis; Trophonius into Bœotia; Minos into Crete; Cinyras into Cyprus; and Erechtheus into Athens. And as in Egypt they were to Isis and Osiris; so in Asia they were to Mithras; in Samothrace to the Mother of the Gods; in Bœotia to Bacchus; in Cyprus to Venus; in Crete to Jupiter; in Athens to Ceres and Proserpine; in Amphissa to Castor and Pollux; in Lemnus to Vulcan, and so to others, in other places, the number of which was incredible[p].

But their end, as well as nature, was the same in all; to teach the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. In this, Origen and Celsus agree; the two most learned writers of their several parties. The first, mind-

[m] Diod. Sic. lib. i.

[n] Ὅτι δὲ τῶν Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων, καὶ μέντοι τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, καὶ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰς τελετὰς Ὀρφεύς, ἀνὴρ Ὀδρυσης, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν, καὶ εἰς ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ἀφικόμενος, τὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ τὰ Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὰ τῆς Δηοῦς καὶ τὰ Διονυσου μετατέθεικεν ὄργια. Theodoretus, *Therapeut.* i.

[o] Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔσχε τὰ παρ' Ἕλλησι μυστήριά τε καὶ τελεταὶ πρότερον παρ' ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙΣ, καὶ παρὰ Φρυξὶ, καὶ Φοινιξὶ, καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις, κακῶς ἐπινοηθέντα μετενεχθέντά τε εἰς Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ χώρας ὑπὸ Κάδμου καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ἰνάχου. Ἀπιόντος πρότερον κληθέντος, καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντος τὴν Μέμφιν. Epiphan. *adv. Hær.* lib. i.

[p] Postulat quidem magnitudo materiæ, atque ipsius defensionis officium, ut similiter cæteras turpitudinum species persequamur: vel quas produnt antiquitatis historiæ, vel mysteria illa continent sacra, quibus initiis nomen est, & quæ non omnibus vulgo, sed paucorum taciturnitatibus tradi licet. Sed *Sacrorum innumeri ritus*, atque affixa deformitas singulis, corporaliter prohibet universa nos exequi Arnob *adv. Gentes*, lib v. p 168.

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ing his adversary of the difference between the *future life* promised by christianity, and that taught in paganism, bids him compare the christian with what all the sects of philosophy, and all the *Mysteries*, amongst Greeks and Barbarians, taught concerning it [q]: and Celsus, in his turn, endeavouring to shew that christianity had no advantage over paganism in the efficacy of stronger sanctions, expresses himself to this purpose; "But now, after all, just as you believe eternal punishments, "so do the ministers of the sacred rites, and those "who initiate into, and preside in the mysteries [r]."

They continued long in religious reverence: some were more famous and more extensive than others; to which many accidents concurred. The most noted were the ORPHIC, the BACCHIC, the ELEUSINIAN, the SAMOTHRACIAN, the CABIRIC, and the MITHRIAC.

Euripides makes Bacchus say, in his tragedy of that name [s], that the *Orgies* were celebrated by all foreign nations, and that he came to introduce them amongst the Greeks. And it is not improbable, but several barbarous nations might have learned them of the Egyptians long before they came into Greece. The Druids of Britain, who had, as well as the Brachmans of India, divers of

[q] — Καθ' ἑκάστην φιλοσόφων αἵρεσιν ἐν Ἕλλησιν ἢ Βαρβάροις ἢ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ. Orig. *cont. Cels.* lib. iii. p. 160. Sp. Ed.

[r] Μάλιστα μὲν, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολάσεις αἰωνίους νομίζεις· ἕτω καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἐξηγηταὶ τελεσταί τε καὶ μυσταγωγοί, lib. viii. p 408. And that nothing very heterodox was taught in the mysteries concerning a future state, I collect from the answer Origen makes to Celsus, who had preferred what was taught in the mysteries of Bacchus on that point, to what the Christian Religion revealed concerning it — φῶμεν μὲν ἐν τῶν Βακχικῶν τελετῶν εἴτε τίς ἐστι παιδεία λόγου, εἴτε μηδεὶς τοιοῦτος — lib. iv. p. 167.

[s] Act. II.

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their religious rites from thence, celebrated the *Orgies* of Bacchus, as we learn from Dionyſius the african. And Strabo having quoted Artemidorus for a fabulous ſtory, ſubjoins, "But what he ſays "of Ceres and Proſerpine is more credible, namely, "that there is an iſland near Britain, where they "perform the ſame rites to thoſe two Goddeſſes "as are uſed in Samothrace [t]." But, of all the *Myſteries*, thoſe which bore that name, by way of eminence, the ELEUSINIAN, celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres, were by far the moſt renowned; and, in proceſs of time, eclipſed, and, as it were, ſwallowed up the reſt. Their neighbours round about very early practiſed theſe *Myſteries* to the neglect of their own: in a little time all Greece and Aſia Minor were initiated into them: and at length they ſpread over the whole Roman empire, and even beyond the limits of it. "I inſiſt "not (ſays Tully) on thoſe ſacred and auguſt rites "of ELEUSIS, where, from the remoteſt regions, "men come to be initiated [v]." And we are told in Zoſimus, that "theſe moſt holy rites were then "ſo extenſive, as to take in the whole race of man-"kind [w]." Ariſtides calls Eleuſis *the common temple of the earth* [x]. And Pauſanias ſays, the rites performed there as much excelled all other rites, inſtituted for the promotion of piety, as the Gods excelled the heroes [y].

[t] Περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς κόρης πιστότερα· ὅτι φησὶν ἔθ νῆσον πρὸς τῇ Βρεττανικῇ, καθ' ἣν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ περὶ τὴν Δήμητραν καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεροποιεῖται. Strabonis *Geogr.* lib. iv. The nature of theſe Samothracian rites is explained afterwards.

[v] Omitto ELEUSINAM ſanctam illam & auguſtam; ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ. *Nat. Deor.* lib. i.

[w] Τὰ συνεχοῦς τὸ ἀιθρώπειον γένος ἁγιώτατα μυστήρια. lib. iv.

[x] Ὅτις δ' κοινόν τι τῆς γῆς τέμενος ἡ Ἐλευσὶς ἦγεῖτο. Ariſtidis *Eleuſinia*.

[y] Οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελετὴν τὴν Ἐλευσινίαν πάντων ὁ-

How

How this happened, is to be accounted for from the nature of the State, which gave birth to theſe *Myſteries*. Athens was a city the moſt devoted to religion of any upon the face of the earth. On this account their poet Sophocles calls it *the ſacred building of the Gods*[z], in alluſion to its foundation. Nor was it a leſs compliment St. Paul intended to pay the Athenians, when he ſaid, Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ[a]. And Joſephus tells us, that *they were univerſally eſteemed the moſt religious people of Greece*[b]. Hence, in theſe matters, Athens became the patern and ſtandard to the reſt of the world.

In diſcourſing, therefore, of the *Myſteries* in general, we ſhall be forced to take our ideas of them chiefly from what we find practiſed in the *Eleuſinian*. Nor need we fear to be miſtaken; the *end* of all being the ſame, and all having their common *original* from Egypt.

To begin with the general purpoſe and deſign of their inſtitution. This will be underſtood, by ſhewing what they communicated promiſcuouſly to all.

To ſupport the doctrine of a PROVIDENCE which, they taught, governed the world[c], they inforced the belief of a *future ſtate* of rewards and puniſhments[d], by all kinds of methods. But as this did not quite clear up the intricate ways of provi-

πόσα ἐς δυσέβειαν ἥκει, τοσούτῳ ἧττον ἐλπιδωτέρα, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰς θεὰς ὑπερδέδεν ἠρώων. *Photius.* In this elegant ſimilitude he ſeems plainly to allude to the *ſecret* of the *myſteries*; which, as we ſhall ſee, conſiſted in an explanation of the *origin of hero-worſhip*, and the *nature of the deity*.

[z] *Electra*, act. ii. ſc. i. ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΜΗΤΩΝ. —

[a] Act. Apoſt. xvii. 22.

[b] — εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅπαντες λέγουσιν. *Cont. Ap.* lib. ii.

[c] Plutarch. *de Iſ. & Oſir.*

[d] [Myſteriis] neque ſolum, &c. — Sed etiam cum ſpe meliore moriendi. Tull. *de Legg.* lib ii. c. 14.

dence,

dence, they added the doctrine of a metempsychosis, or the belief of a *prior state:* as we learn from Cicero, and Porphyry [e]; the latter of whom informs us, that it was taught in the *Mysteries* of the Persian Mithras. This was an ingenious solution, invented by the Egyptian lawgivers, to remove all doubts concerning the moral attributes of God [f]; and so, consequently, to establish the belief of his providence, from a *future state.* For the lawgiver well knew how precarious that belief was, while the moral attributes of God remained doubtful and uncertain.

In cultivating the doctrine of a *future life*, it was taught, that the *initiated* should be happier in that state than all other mortals: that while the souls of the profane, at their leaving the body, stuck fast in mire and filth, and remained in darkness, the souls of the *initiated* winged their flight directly to the happy islands, and the habitations of the Gods [g]. This promise was as necessary for the support of the *Mysteries*, as the *Mysteries* were for the support of the doctrine. But now, lest it should be mistaken, that *initiation* alone, or any other means than a virtuous life, intitled men to this future happiness, the *Mysteries* openly proclaimed it as their chief business, to restore the soul to its original purity. "It was the end and de-

[e] Καὶ γὰρ δόγμα παλαιὸν ἐστὶ τῶν σοφῶν, τὴν ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩΣΙΝ ἣν ὃ κὴ ἐμφαίνειν ἔοικασιν ἐν τοῖς τῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 16.

[f] So Tully. Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus & ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris INITIISQUE tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vitâ superiore, pœnarum luendarum causâ, natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

[g] Plato *in Phædone* — Aristides *Eleusiniâ & apud Stobæum, Serm.* 119, *&c. Schol. Arist. in Ranis.* Diog. Laert. *in vita Diog. Cynici.*

"sign

" sign of initiation (says Plato) to restore the soul " to that state, from whence it fell, as from its " native seat of perfection [h]." They contrived that every thing should tend to shew the necessity of virtue; as appears from Epictetus. " Thus " the mysteries become useful; thus we seize the " true spirit of them; when we begin to appre- " hend that every thing therein was instituted by " the ancients, for instruction and amendment of " life [i]." Porphyry gives us some of those moral precepts, which were inforced in the mysteries, as *to honour their parents, to offer up fruits to the Gods, and to forbear cruelty towards animals* [k]. In pursuance of this scheme, it was required in the *aspirant* to the *Mysteries*, that he should be of a clear and unblemished character, and free even from the suspicion of any notorious crime [l]. To come at the truth, he was severely interrogated by the priest or hierophant, impressing him with the same sense of his obligation to conceal nothing, as is now done at the roman Confessionnal [m].

[h] Σκοπὸς τῶν τελετῶν ἐστιν, εἰς τέλος ἀναγαγεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκεῖνο ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πρώτην ἐποιήσαντο κάθοδον, ὡς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. In *Phædone.*

[i] Οὕτως ὠφέλιμα γίνεται τὰ μυστήρια· ὅτως εἰς φαντασίαν ἐρχόμεθα· ἔτι ἀπὸ παιδία ἡμᾶς ἐπανορθώσασθαι τὸν βίον καλεσάντων πάντα ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. Apud *Arrian. Dissert.* lib. iii. cap. 21. My reason for translating εἰς φαντασίαν, in this manner, was, because I imagined the author, in this obscure expression, alluded to the custom in the mysteries, of calling those who were initiated only in the lesser, Μύσται; but those, in the greater, Ἐπόπται.

[k] Γονεῖς τιμᾶν, θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν, ζῶα μὴ σίνεσθαι. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 22.

[l] Οὗτοι γὰρ τά τ' ἄλλα καθαροὶ ἦσαν τοῖς μύσαις ἐν κοινῷ πρίασθαι δεύσουσιν, ἢ τὰς χεῖρας τὴν ψυχὴν ἦσαν. Libanius *Decl.* xix.

[m] As appears from the repartee which Plutarch makes, in his *Laconic apothegms of Lysander*, when he went to be initiated into the Samothracian mysteries; Ἐν δὲ Σαμοθράκῃ χρηστηριαζομένῳ αὐτῷ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν ὅ, τι ἀνομώτατον ἔμελλον αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πράττειν.—Why initiation into *these mysteries* is called, enquiring of the oracle, will be seen afterwards.

Hence

Hence it was, that when Nero, after the murder of his mother, took a journey into Greece, and had a mind to be present at the celebration of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, the conscience of his parricide deterred him from attempting it [n]. On the same account, the good emperor M. Antoninus, when he would purge himself to the world of the death of Avidius Cassius, chose to be initiated into the *Eleusinian* mysteries [o], it being notorious, that none were admitted into them, who laboured under the just suspicion of any heinous immorality. This was originally a fundamental condition of initiation, observed in common, by all the *mysteries*; and instituted by Bacchus, or Osiris himself, the first inventer of them; who, as Diodorus tells us, initiated none but pious and virtuous men [p]. During the celebration of the mysteries, they were enjoined the greatest purity, and highest elevation of mind. "When you sacrifice or pray (says Epictetus in "Arrian) go with a prepared purity of mind, and "with dispositions so previously disposed, as are "required of you when you approach the ancient rites and mysteries [q]." And Proclus tells us that the *mysteries* and the *initiations* drew the souls of men from a material, sensual, and merely human life, and joined them in communion with the Gods [r]. Nor was a less degree of purity re-

[n] Peregrinatione quidem, Græciæ, Eluſiniis ſacris, quorum initiatione impii & ſcelerati voce præconis ſubmoverentur, intereſſe non auſus eſt. Sueton. *Vita Neron.* cap. 34.

[o] Jul. Capit. *Vita Ant. Phil.* and Dion Caſſ.

[p] — καλαδεῖξαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ωᾶσι τοὺς τελεῖας, καὶ μεταδοῦναι τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δικαίου βίου ἀσκοῦσι. lib. iii. p. 138. St. Ed.

[q] Καὶ μετὰ θυσίας ἢ, καὶ μετ' εὐχῶν, καὶ παρηνευκότα, καὶ προθιακείμενον τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι ἱεροῖς προσελεύσεῃ καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαιοῖς. Arrian. *Diſſert.* lib. iii. cap. 21.

[r] Τά τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἀνάγειν ἐκ τῆς ἐνύλου καὶ θνητοειδοῦς ζωῆς τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ συνάπτειν τοῖς θεοῖς. In *Remp. Plat.* lib. i.

quired

quired of the *Initiated* for their future conduct[r]. They were obliged by solemn engagements to commence a new life of strictest piety and virtue; into which they were entered by a severe course of penance, proper to purge the mind of its natural defilements. Gregory Nazianzen tells us, that "no one could be initiated into the mysteries of "of Mithras, till he had undergone all sorts of "mortifying trials, and had approved himself holy "and impassible[t]." The consideration of all this made Tertullian say, that, in the mysteries, "Truth herself took on every shape, to oppose "and combat truth[v]." And Austin, "That the "devil hurried away deluded souls to their de-"struction, when he promised to *purify* them by "those ceremonies, called INITIATIONS[w]."

The *Initiated*, under this discipline, and with these promises, were esteemed the only happy men. Aristophanes, who speaks the sense of the people, makes them exult and triumph after this manner: "On us only does the sun dispense his blessings; "we only receive pleasure from his beams: we, "who are initiated, and perform towards citizens "and strangers all acts of piety and justice[x]. And

[r] Καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀξιωθεὶς ἐδεύμλω καὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρίστης παιδεύσεως. Quidam apud Sopatrum, in *Div. Quæst.*

[t] ἀδεὶς δὲ δύνασθαι τελεῖσθαι τὰς τῦ Μίτρᾳ τελείας, εἰ μὴ διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι, καὶ δείξῃ ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ὅσιον. 1 *Orat. cont. Julian.*

[v] Omnia adversus veritatem, de ipsa veritate constructa esse. *Apol.* cap. 47.

[w] Diabolum animas deceptas illusasque præcipitasse, quum polliceretur purgationem animæ per eas, quas ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ appellant. *De Trinitate*, lib. iii. c. 10.

[x] Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος
Καὶ φέγγος ἱλαρόν ἐστιν,
Ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ', εὐσεβῆ τε διήγομεν
Τρόπον, πρός τε ξένους
Καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας. *Chorus in Ranis*, act. i

Sophocles, to the ſame purpoſe, "Life, only is "to be had there: all other places are full of mi- "ſery and evil [y]." "Happy (ſays Euripides) is "the man who hath been initiated into the greater "myſteries, and leads a life of piety and religion [z]." And the longer any one had been initiated, the more honourable they deemed him [a]. It was even ſcandalous not to be initiated: and however virtuous the perſon otherwiſe appeared, he became ſuſpicious to the people; as was the caſe of Socrates, and, in after-times, of Demonax [b]. No wonder, then, if the ſuperior advantages of the *Initiated*, both here and hereafter, ſhould make the *myſteries* univerſally aſpired to. And, indeed, they ſoon grew as comprehenſive in the numbers they embraced, as in the regions and countries to which they extended: men, women, and children ran to be initiated. Thus Apuleius [c] deſcribes the ſtate of the myſteries even in his time: "Influunt "turbæ, ſacris divinis initiatæ, viri fœminæque, "omnis ætatis & omnis dignitatis." The pagans, we ſee, ſeemed to think *initiation* as neceſſary, as the chriſtians did *baptiſm*. And the cuſtom of initiating children appears from a paſſage of Terence [d], to have been general.

"Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit;

y Τοῖς δὲ μόνοις ἐκεῖ
Ζῆν ἔστι· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

z Ὦ μάκαρ ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελετὰς θεῶν
Εἰδὼς, βιοᾷ ἁγιστεύῃ. *Bacch.*

a Καὶ ὁ μὲ ἀξιοτελὴς μύστης ἀτιμότερος τῶ πάλαι μύστου. Ariſtides in *Orat.* ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφθέγματων.

b Lucian. *Vit. Dem.*

c *Met.* lib. xi.

d *Phorm.* act. i. ſc. i. And Donatus, on the place, tells us, the ſame cuſtom prevailed in the Samothracian myſteries: "Terentius Apollodorum ſequitur, apud quem legitur, in in- "ſula Samothracum à certo tempore pueros initiari, more A- "thenienſium."

"Porro

" Porro autem alio, ubi erit puero natalis dies,
" Ubi INITIABUNT.

Nay they had even the ſame ſuperſtition in the adminiſtration of it, which ſome chriſtians had of baptiſm, to defer it to the approach of death; ſo the honeſt farmer Trygæus, in the *Pax* of Ariſtophanes:

Δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναί με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι.

The occaſion of this ſolicitude is told us by the ſcholiaſt on the *Ranæ* of the ſame poet. " The Athenians " believed, that he who was initiated, and inſtruct- " ed in the myſteries, would obtain divine honours " after death: and THEREFORE all ran to be in- " itiated [e]." Their fondneſs for it became ſo great, that at ſuch times as the public treaſury was low, the magiſtrate could have recourſe to the *myſteries*, as a fund to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate. " Ariſtogiton (ſays the commentator on " Hermogenes) in a great ſcarcity of public mo- " ney, procured a law, that in Athens every one " ſhould pay a certain ſum for his initiation [f]."

Every thing in theſe rites was myſteriouſly conducted, and under the moſt ſolemn obligations to ſecrecy [g]. Which how it could agree to our repre-

[e] Λόγῳ γὰρ ἐκράτει παρ' Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια διδαχθεὶς, μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε τελευτὴν θείας ἠξιοῦτο τιμῆς· διὸ καὶ πάντες πρὸς τὴν μύησιν ἔσπευδον.

[f] Ἀργυρολοιτῶν ἐν πάνυ χρημάτων, γραφὴν νόμου, παρ' Ἀθηναίοις μισθὸν μυεῖσθαι. *Syrianus.*

[g] Cum ignotis hominibus Orpheus ſacrorum ceremonias aperiret, nihil aliud ab his quos initiabat in primo veſtibulo niſi jurisjurandi neceſſitatem, & cum terribili quadam auctoritate religionis, exegit, ne profanis auribus inventæ ac compoſitæ religionis ſecreta proderentur. Firmicus in limine lib. vii. *Aſtrol.* — Nota ſunt hæc Græcæ ſuperſtitionis Hierophantis, quibus inviolabili lege interdictum erat, ne hæc atque hujusmodi Myſteria apud eos, qui his ſacris minimè initiati eſſent, evulgarent. — Nicetas in *Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat.* εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα. This obligation of the initiated to ſecreſy was the reaſon that

ſentation of the myſteries, as an inſtitution for the uſe of the people, we ſhall now endeavour to ſhew.

They were hidden and kept ſecret for two reaſons:

I. Nothing excites our curioſity like that which retires from our obſervation, and ſeems to forbid our ſearch. Of this opinion we find the learned Syneſius, where he ſays, "The people will deſpiſe "what is eaſy and intelligible, and therefore they "muſt always be provided with ſomething won-"derful and myſterious in religion, to hit their "taſte, and ſtimulate their curioſity[h]." And again, "The ignorance of the myſteries preſerves their "veneration; for which reaſon they are entruſted "to the cover of night[i]." On theſe principles the *myſteries* were framed. They were kept ſecret, to excite curioſity: they were celebrated in the night, to impreſs veneration and religious horror[k]. And they were performed with variety of ſhews and repreſentations (of which more hereafter) to fix and perpetuate thoſe impreſſions[l]. Hitherto, then, the *myſteries* are to be conſidered as invent-

the *Egyptian hieroglyphic* for them, was a graſhopper, which was ſuppoſed to have no mouth. See *Horapollo Hieroglyph.* lib. ii. cap. 55.

[h] Τὸ δὲ ξᾶττον καταγελάσεται ὁ δῆμος· δεῖται γὰρ τερατείας· To the ſame purpoſe, Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hiſt.* lib. v. Τὰ γὰρ τοῖς πᾶσι προύχειρα κόρον τε ἴσχε, καὶ ἀχρηςία σφίσιν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἀπεικέχυλαι.

[i] Ἀγνωσία σεμνότης ἐςὶ τελεῖων· καὶ νυξ τῦτο πιςδύεται τὰ μυςήρια. *Libro de Providentia.*

[k] Euripides, in the *Bacchantes*, act. ii. makes Bacchus ſay, that the orgies were celebrated in the night, becauſe darkneſs has ſomething ſolemn and auguſt in it, and proper to fill the mind with ſacred horror.

[l] Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυςήρια ἐν ΑΛΑΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ λέγεται, πρὸς ἔκπληξιν καὶ φρίκλω, ὥσπερ ἐν ΣΚΟΤΩι, καὶ ΝΥΚΤΙ· ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορία τῷ σκότῳ καὶ τῇ νυκτί. Demet. Phalereus *de Elocutione*, § 110.

ed,

ed, not to *deter*, but to *invite* the curioſity of the people. But,

II. They were kept ſecret from a neceſſity of teaching the Initiated ſome things, improper to be communicated to all. The learned Varro in a fragment of his book *Of religions*, preſerved by St. Auguſtin, tells us, that "There were many truths, "which it was inconvenient for the ſtate to be "generally known; and many things, which, "though falſe, it was expedient the people ſhould "believe; and that therefore the Greeks ſhut up "their MYSTERIES in the ſilence of their ſacred "incloſures [m]."

Now to reconcile this ſeeming contradiction, of ſuppoſing the myſteries to be inſtituted to invite the people into them, and, at the ſame time, to keep them from the people's knowledge, we are to obſerve, that in the *Eleuſinian rites* there were two *myſteries*, the GREATER and the LESS [n]. The end of the *leſs* muſt be referred to what we ſaid of the inſtitutor's intention to invite the people into them; and of the *greater*, to his intention of keeping ſome truths from the people's knowledge. Nor is this ſaid without ſufficient warrant: antiquity is very expreſs for this diſtinction. We are told that the *leſſer myſteries* were only a kind of preparatory purification for the *greater* [o], and might be eaſiy communicated to all [p]. That four years [q]

[m] Multa eſſe vera, quæ vulgo ſcire non ſit utile; multaque, quæ, tametſi falſa ſint, aliter exiſtimare populum expediat. Et ideo *Græcos* TELETAS ac MYSTERIA taciturnitate parietibusque claufiſſe. *Civ. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 31.

[n] Ἦσαν τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος· τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς συγαμβρός. Interp. Græc. *ad Plut. Ariſtophanis.*

[o] Ἐστι τὰ μικρὰ ὥσπερ προκάθαρσις, καὶ προάγνευσις των μεγάλων. *Schol. ad Plut. ſecund. Ariſtoph.*

[p] Ἐπενόησαν μυστήρια εὐμέλαδοτα. *Schol. Ariſtoph.*

[q] — Cùm epoptas ante quinquennium inſtituunt, ut opinionem ſuſpendio cognitionis ædificent. Tertul. *adv. Valentinianos.*

was the usual time of probation for those *greater* mysteries; in which (as Clemens Alexandrinus expressly informs us) the SECRETS were deposited [r].

However, as it is very certain, that both the *greater* and *lesser mysteries* were instituted for the benefit of the state, it follows, that the *doctrines* taught in both, were equally for the service of society; only with this difference, some, without inconvenience, might be taught promiscuously; others could not.

On the whole, the secret in the *lesser* mysteries was some hidden *rites and shews* to be kept from the open view of the people, only to invite their curiosity; and the secret in the *greater*, some hidden *doctrines* to be kept from the people's knowledge, for the very contrary purpose. For the *shews* common both to the *greater* and *lesser mysteries*, were only designed to engage the attention, and raise their devotion.

But it may be worth while to enquire more particularly into the *hidden doctrines* of the *greater mysteries:* for so religiously was the secret kept, that the thing seems still to lie involved in darkness. We shall, therefore, proceed cautiously; and try, from the obscure hints dropped up and down in antiquity,

"Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas."

First, as to their *general nature*, it appears they must needs be such, as, if promiscuously taught, would bring prejudice to the state; why else were they secreted? and, at the same time, benefit, if communicated with caution and prudence; why else were they taught at all?

[r] Μετὰ ταῦτα δέ δῆτα τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑποθέσεων ἔχοντα, καὶ προπαιδεύσεως τῶν μελλόντων· τὰ δὲ μεγάλα αὖθις τῶν συμπάντων ἐπόπτειαν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ, καὶ αὖθις νοεῖν τὴν φύσιν, καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *Strom.* v.

From

From their general nature, we come by degrees to their particular. And,

I. To the certain knowledge of what they were not: which is one ſtep to the knowledge of what they were.

1. They were not the common doctrines of a providence and future ſtate; for ancient teſtimony is expreſs, that theſe doctrines were taught promiſcuouſly to all the initiated; and were the very eſſence of *myſterious* rites. — Thoſe doctrines were not capable of being hid and ſecreted, becauſe they were univerſal amongſt the civilized part of mankind. There was no need to hide them; becauſe the common knowledge of them was ſo far from being detrimental, that ſociety, as we have ſhewn, could not even ſubſiſt without their being generally known and believed.

2. Theſe ſecret doctrines could not be the metaphyſical ſpeculations of the philoſophers concerning the *deity*, and the *human ſoul*. Becauſe this would be making the *hidden doctrines* of the *ſchools* of philoſophy, and of the *myſteries* of religion, one and the ſame; which they could not be, becauſe their ends were different: the end of philoſophy being only truth; the end of religion, only utility [f]. — Becauſe revealing ſuch metaphyſical ſpeculations to the members of civil ſociety, with what precaution ſoever, would be injurious to the ſtate,

[f] We ſay, that the profeſſed end of the ancient philoſopher was the diſcovery of truth, and *that* of the legiſlator, the promotion of utility. But *both* being ignorant of this important truth, *that truth and utility do coincide*, (ſee B. III. § 2.) they *both*, in many caſes, miſſed ſhamefully of their end. The firſt, while he neglected *utility*, falling into the moſt abſurd and fatal errors concerning the nature of God and the ſoul (ſee B. III. § 4.) and the other, while he was too little ſollicitous about *truth*, encouraging a polytheiſm deſtructive to ſociety; to regulate which, he, ſucceſsfully however, as we ſhall ſee, employed theſe myſteries.

and productive of no good to religion: as will be ſeen when we come, in the third book, to examine what thoſe metaphyſical ſpeculations were. — Becauſe ſuch ſpeculations (as we ſhall then ſee) would overthrow every thing taught to *all*, in the *myſteries*, concerning a providence, and a future ſtate: and yet we are told by the ancients, that the doctrines of a providence, and future ſtate, were the foundation of the more ſecret ones, after which we are now enquiring [t].

II. Having, from the diſcovery of the general end and purpoſe of theſe ſecrets, ſeen what they could not be, we ſhall now be enabled to find what, in fact, they were.

To begin with a paſſage of Clemens Alexandrinus. — "After theſe (namely, luſtrations) are the "LESSER myſteries, in which is laid the FOUNDA-"TION of the hidden doctrines, and preparations

[t] I have been the more particular in refuting this notion, that the ſecret doctrines of the *ſchools*, and of the *myſteries* might be the ſame; becauſe I find it to be an error, that ſome, even of the moſt knowing of the ancients, were apt to fall into. What miſled them, was, 1. That the ſchools, and myſteries both pretended *to reſtore the ſoul to its original purity and perfection.* We have ſeen how much the myſteries pretended to it. As to the Philoſophers, Porphyry, ſpeaking of Pythagoras, tells us, that "he profeſſed philoſophy, whoſe end is to "free and vindicate the ſoul from thoſe chains and confine-"ments, to which its abode with us hath ſubjected it." Φιλοσοφίαν δ' ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ἧς ὁ σκοπὸς, ἐύσασθαι καὶ διελθεῖν τῶν τοιούτων εἱρμῶν τε καὶ συνδέσμων τὴ καλακεχωρισμένον ἡμῖν νῦν. *De Vita Pythag.* 2. That the *ſchools* and *myſteries* had each their hidden doctrines, which went under the common name of ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ; and that, which had a common name, was underſtood to have a common nature. 3. And chiefly, that the philoſopher and lawgiver, being frequently in one and the ſame perſon, and, conſequently, the inſtitutions of the myſteries and ſchools eſtabliſhed by the ſame hand, it appeared reaſonable to think, that the ἀπορρήτα, in both, were the ſame; they not diſtinguiſhing the twofold character of the ancient ſage, which ſhall be explained in its place. See B. III. § 2.

"for

"for what is to come afterwards[v]." From a knowledge of the foundation, we may be able to form an idea of the ſuperſtructure. This foundation (as hath been ſhewn) was the belief of a providence, and future ſtate; and, its conſequence on practice, obligation to a virtuous life. But there was one inſuperable obſtacle to a life of purity and holineſs, the vicious examples of their Gods. EGO HOMUNCIO HOC NON FACEREM[w]? was the abſolving formula, whenever any one was reſolved to give a looſe to his paſſions[x]. And the licentious rites, in the OPEN worſhip of their Gods, gave ſtill greater encouragement to theſe concluſions. Plato, in his book *Of Laws*, forbids drinking to exceſs; unleſs, ſays he, during the feaſts of Bacchus, and

[v] Μετὰ ταῦτα δέ ἐστι τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑποθέσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ προοιμιαζόμενα τῶν μελλόντων. *Strom.* v. Ἀγὼν γὰρ καὶ ὁ προαγων, καὶ μυστήρια τὰ περὶ μυστηρίων. *Strom.* i.

[w] Terence, *Eun.* act. iii. ſc. v.---Euripides puts this argument into the mouth of ſeveral of his ſpeakers, up and down his tragedies. Helen, in the iv^th act of *the Trojan dames*, ſays, "How could I reſiſt a Goddeſs, whom Jupiter himſelf obeys?" Ion, in his play of that name, in the latter end of the firſt act, ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe: and in the vth act of *Hercules Furens* Theſeus comforts his friend by the examples of the crimes of the Gods. See likewiſe his *Hippolytus*, act. ii. ſc. ii. The learned and ingenious Mr. Seward, in his tract of *the conformity between popery and paganiſm*, has taken notice of a difficult paſſage in this tragedy, which he has very ably explained, on the ſyſtem here delivered of the detection of polytheiſm in the ſacred myſteries.

[x] ---ὁ δ' πολὺς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ὄχλος ὅτι τὰ χείρω λαμβάνειν φιλεῖ τοῦ κρείττονος λόγου, καὶ πάσχει δεινότερον, ἢ καλαφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ κυλινδημένων· ἢ τῶν αἰσχίστων τε καὶ παρανομωτάτων ἥδεως ἀπέχεσθαι, θεοῖς δὲ θεῶν αὐτὰ πρησκεύμενα. Dion. Halicar. apud Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 8. But a remarkable paſſage in Plautus ſhews that this was grown up into an eſtabliſhed principle. In his Amphitruo he makes Mercury joke upon the office of a Paraſite in the deſcription he gives of his own obſequiouſneſs to his father Jupiter.

"Amanti [patri] ſupparaſitor, hortor, aſto, admoneo, gaudeo.
"Siquid patri volupʼ eſt, voluptas ea mihi multo maxima eſt.

in honour of that God [y]. And Aristotle, in his *Politics*, having blamed all lewd and obscene images and pictures, excepts those of the Gods, which religion had sanctified.

Now the *mysteries* professed to exact nothing difficult of the initiated [a], which they would not assist him to perform. It was necessary, then, to remedy this evil; which they did, by striking at the root of it. So that, such of the initiated as were judged capable, were made acquainted with the whole delusion. The *mystagogue* taught them [b], that Jupiter, Mercury, Bacchus, Venus, Mars, and the whole rabble of licentious deities, were only dead mortals; subject, in life, to the same passions and infirmities with themselves; but having been, on other accounts, benefactors to mankind, grateful posterity had deified them; and, with their virtues, had indiscretely canonized their vices. The fabulous Gods being thus routed, the supreme

" Amat, sapit: recte facit, animo quando obsequitur suo. He then addresses himself to the audience, and tells them gravely, that men, in like manner, after the example of Jupiter, should indulge their passions, where they can do it safely.——" Quod " omnes homines facere oportet, dum id modo fiat bono.

[y] Lib. vi.

[a] Ἀλλ' ἔσομαι ἀλη θὴς τελετὴν πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἑτοιμότατος. Sopat. in *Div. Quæst.* Καθάπερ ἄλλῳ μυστηρίῳ παρελιόμεθα τῇ σιωπῇ, τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων λοιπὸν τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ βίον ἐκαθαίρειν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν θείαν τῶν θεῶν τελετὴν ἐπειγόμενον, ἐκκλίνειν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐσπευδάζον. Sopat. ibidem.

[b] When St. Austin *(Civ. Dei,* lib. ii. cap. 7, 8) had quoted the *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem,* to shew what mischief these stories did to the morals of the people; he makes the defenders of paganism reply, that it was true, but then these things were only taught in the fables of the poets, which, an attention to the *mysteries* would rectify: " At enim non tra- " duntur ista SACRIS deorum, sed fabulis poetarum." This the *Father* cannot deny; but observes, however, that in the then *corrupt state* of the *mysteries* the remedy was become part of the disease: " Nolo dicere ILLA MYSTICA " quam ista *theatrica* esse turpiora."

cause

cauſe of all things naturally took their place. HIM they were taught to conſider as the creator of the univerſe, who pervaded all things by his virtue, and governed all by his providence. But here it muſt be obſerved, that the diſcovery of this *ſupreme cauſe* was made conſiſtent with the notion of local tutelary deities, Beings ſuperior to men, and inferior to God, and by him ſet over the ſeveral parts of his creation. This was an opinion univerſally holden by antiquity, and never brought into queſtion by any theiſt. What the ἀποῤῥηία overthrew, was the vulgar polytheiſm, the worſhip of dead men. From this time, the initiated had the title of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ, by which was meant *one that ſees things as they are, and without diſguiſe*; whereas before, he was called ΜΥΣΤΗΣ, which has a contrary ſignification.

But, beſides the prevention of vice, the detection of the national Gods had another important uſe, which was to excite men to heroic virtue, by ſhewing them what honours the benefactors of nations had acquired, by the free exerciſe of it. And this (as will be ſhewn hereafter) was the chief reaſon why princes, ſtateſmen, and leaders of colonies and armies all aſpired to be partakers of the *greater myſteries.*

Thus we ſee, how what was taught and required in the *leſſer myſteries*, became the foundation of inſtruction in the *greater:* the obligation to a good life *there*, made it neceſſary to remove the errors of vulgar polytheiſm *here*; and the doctrine of a providence taught previouſly in *thoſe*, facilitated the reception of the ſole cauſe of all things, when finally revealed in *theſe.*

Such were the TRUTHS which Varro, as quoted above, tells us it was inexpedient for the people to know:

know [c]: he ſuppoſed, indeed, the error of vulgar polytheiſm to be ſo inveterate, that it was not to be expelled without throwing ſociety into convulſions. But Plato ſpoke out: he owned it to be "difficult to find the father and creator of the uni-"verſe; and, when found, impoſſible to diſcover "him to all the world [d]."

Beſides, there was another reaſon why the inſtitutors of the myſteries, who were *lawgivers*, ſhould be for keeping this truth a ſecret. They had had, themſelves, the chief hand in the riſe of vulgar polytheiſm [e]. They contrived it for the ſake of the ſtate; and to keep the people in awe, under a greater veneration for their laws. *This* polytheiſm, the poets had depraved, by inventing or recording vicious ſtories of the Gods and heroes, which the lawgivers were willing to have ſtifled [f].

[c] Theſe two were the truths which the pontifex Scævola ſaid were to be kept hid from the people. Relatum eſt in litteras, doctiſſimum Pontificem Scævolam diſputaſſe tria genera tradita Deorum; unum a poetis, alterum a philoſophis, tertium a principibus civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit eſſe — Secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeant aliqua — quæ obſit populis noſſe — Quæ ſunt autem illa quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? "Hæc, inquit; non eſſe deos Herculem, Æſ-"culapium, Caſtorem, Pollucem: proditur enim a doctis, quod "homines fuerint, & humana conditione defecerint." —— Auguſtin. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 27.

[d] Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τῆδε τῆ πανλὸς ἀυρεῖν τ ἔργον, καὶ ἀυρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδυνάτον λέγειν. *In Timæo.*

[e] See the ſecond Section of this Book.

[f] Plato has a remarkable paſſage to this purpoſe. Speaking, in the beginning of his xi^th book *Of Laws*, concerning theft, and fraud, and rapine, he takes notice of the popular ſtories told of Mercury, as if he delighted in ſuch things, and patronized thoſe who did; the philoſopher ſays they are not true; and cautions men from being led away by ſuch pretended examples. However, to make all ſure, he takes up the method of the *myſteries*, and adds, that if, indeed, Mercury did, or encouraged, ſuch things, he was neither a God, nor of celeſtial original.—κλοπὴ μὲ χρημάτων, ἀνελεύθερον, ἀρπαγὴ δὲ, ἀναίσχυντον

And

And they were only *ſuch* ſtories, that, in their opinion, as may be ſeen in Plato, made polytheiſm hurtful to the ſtate.

That this account of the SECRET, in the *greater myſteries*, is no precarious hypotheſis, raiſed merely on conjecture, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew,

Firſt, from the clear evidence of antiquity, which expreſly informs us of theſe two particulars; That the *errors of polytheiſm* were detected, and the *doctrine of the unity* taught and explained in the *myſteries*. But here it is to be obſerved, that when the ancients ſpeak of *myſteries* indefinitely, they generally mean the *greater*.

It hath been ſhewn, that the Grecian and Aſiatic myſteries came originally from Egypt. Now of the Egyptian, St. Auſtin giveth us this remarkable account. — "Of the ſame nature, too, are "thoſe things which Alexander of Macedon wrote "to his mother, as revealed unto him by one "LEO[g], chief hierophant of the Egyptian myſte-

τῆς Διὸς δὲ ἱερῶν ἀδεὶς ἅτε δόλιος, ἅτε βίᾳ χαίρων ἐπιλετήδευκε τοῦτον ἀδέτερον· μηδεὶς ἓν ὑπὸ ποιητῶν, μηδ' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τινῶν μυθολόγων, πλημμελῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐξαπαλάμᾳ ἀναπεθέσθω· καὶ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμενον, οἰέσθω μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ δρᾶσιν. ἅτε γὰρ ἀληθὲς, ἅτ' εἰκός· ἀλλ' ὅτις δρᾷ τοιοῦτον παρανόμως, ἅτε θεὸς, ἅτε παῖς ἐρί ποτε θεῶν.

[g] It is not improbable but this might be a name of office. Porphyry, in his iv[th] book *Of Abſtinence*, informs us, that the prieſts of the myſteries of Mithras were called *lions*; the prieſteſſes, *lioneſſes*; and the inferior miniſters, *ravens*. Τὰς μὲν αὐτῆς ὀργίων μύσας, Λέοντας καλεῖν· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, Λεαίνας· τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας, Κόρακας. For there was a great conformity, in the practices and ceremonies of the ſeveral *myſteries*, throughout the whole pagan world. And this conjecture is ſupported by a paſſage in Eunapius, which ſeems to ſay, that it was unlawful to reveal the *name* of the hierophant. — τὸ δὲ Ἱεροφάντῃ, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὅτις ἦν τοὔνομα ἔξεστί μοι θέμις λέγειν — *in Maximo.* — It looks as if the corruptions and debaucheries of ſome of the myſteries, in later times, had made this further proviſion for ſecrecy.

"ries:

" ries: whereby it appeared, that not only ſuch " as Picus, and Faunus, and Æneas, and Romu- " lus, nay Hercules, and Æſculapius, and Bacchus " the ſon of Semele, and Caſtor, and Pollux, and " all others of the ſame rank, had been advanced, " from the condition of mortality, into Gods; " but that even thoſe deities of the higher order, " the *Dii majorum gentium*, thoſe whom Cicero, " without naming, ſeems to carp at, in his *Tuſcu-* " *lans*, ſuch as Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Neptune, " Vulcan, Veſta, and many others (whom Varro en- " deavours to allegorize into the elements or parts " of the world) were, in truth, only mortal men. " But the prieſt being under great fears and ap- " prehenſions, while he was telling this, as con- " ſcious that he was betraying the SECRET OF " THE MYSTERIES, begged of Alexander, when " he found that he intended to communicate it to " his mother [h], that he would enjoin her to burn " the letter, as ſoon as ſhe had read it [i]."

[h] I ſuppoſe this communication to his mother, might be to let her underſtand, that he was no longer the dupe of her fine ſtory of Jupiter's intruſion, and the intrigue of his divine original. For Eratoſthenes, according to Plutarch, ſays, that Olympias, when ſhe brought Alexander on his way to the army, in his firſt military expedition, acquainted him, in private, with the ſecret of his birth; and exhorted him to behave himſelf as became the ſon of Jupiter Hammon. This, I ſuppoſe, Alexander might tell to the prieſt, and ſo the murder came out.

[i] In eo genere ſunt etiam illa quæ Alexander Macedo ſcribit ad matrem, ſibi a magno antiſtite ſacrorum Ægyptiorum quodam LEONE patefacta: ubi non Picus & Faunus, & Æneas & Romulus, vel etiam Hercules & Æſculapius, & Liber Semele natus, & Tyndaridæ fratres, & ſi quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent; ſed ipſi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero in Tuſculanis, tacitis nominibus, videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Veſta, & alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes ſive elementa transferre, homines fuiſſe produntur. Timens enim & ille quaſi revelata myſteria, petens admonet Alexandrum, ut cum ea matri conferi-

To

To understand the concluding part, we are to know, that Cyprian (who has also preserved this curious anecdote) tells us, it was the dread of Alexander's power which extorted the secret from the hierophant [k]. All this well illustrates a passage in Lucian's *Council of the Gods*; when, after Momus had ridiculed the monstrous deities of Egypt, Jupiter replies, "It is true, these are abominable things, "which you mention of the Egyptian worship. "But then, consider, Momus, that much of it is "enigmatical; and so, consequently, a very unfit "subject for the buffoonry of the prophane and "uninitiated." To which, the other answers with much spirit, "Yes, indeed, we have great occasion "for the MYSTERIES, to know that Gods are "Gods, and monsters, monsters [l]."

But Tully brings the matter home to the ELEUSINIAN *mysteries* themselves. "What (says he) is "not almost all heaven, not to carry on this detail "any further, filled with the human race? But if "I should search and examine antiquity, and from "those things which the Grecian writers have de-"livered, go to the bottom of this affair, it would "be found, that even those very Gods themselves "who are deemed the *Dii majorum gentium*, had "their original here below; and ascended from

pta insinuaverit, flammis jubeat concremari. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

[k] — metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote SECRETUM. *De Idol. Ven.* But this is a mistake, at least it is expressed inaccurately. What was extorted by the dread of Alexander's power, was not the *secret* (which the initiated had a right to) but the priest's consent that he should *communicate* the secret to another, which was contrary to the laws of the mysteries.

[l] Αἰσχρὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φὴς τὰ περὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων· ἔμως δ' ἔν, ὦ Μῶμε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνίγματά ἐστι καὶ οὐ πάνυ χρὴ καλαγελᾶν ἀμύητον ὄντα. ΜΩΜ. Πάνυ γὰρ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ, ὦ Ζεῦ, δεῖ ἡμῖν, ὡς εἶναι θεὸς μὴ τὸ θεός· κυνοκέφαλος δὲ τὸ κυνοκέφαλος.

"hence

" hence into heaven. Enquire, to whom thoſe " ſepulchres belong, which are ſo commonly ſhewn " in Greece. REMEMBER, for you are initiated, " WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT IN THE " MYSTERIES; YOU WILL THEN AT LENGTH " UNDERSTAND HOW FAR THIS MATTER MAY " BE CARRIED[m]." He carries it further himſelf; for he tells us, in another place, that not only the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, but the *Samothracian* likewiſe, and the *Lemnian* taught the error of polytheiſm, agreeably to this ſyſtem; which ſuppoſes all the myſteries derived from the ſame original, and conſtituted for the ſame ends. " What " think you (ſays he) of thoſe who aſſert, that " valiant, or famous, or powerful men have ob- " tained divine honours after death; and that theſe " are the very Gods, now become the object of " our worſhip, our prayers, and adoration? EU- " HEMERUS tells us, when theſe Gods died, and " where they lie buried. *I forbear to ſpeak of the* " *ſacred and auguſt rites of* ELEUSIS — *I paſs by* " Samothrace, *and the myſteries of* Lemnos, *whoſe* " *hidden rites are celebrated in darkneſs, and amidſt* " *the thick ſhades of groves and foreſts*[n]."

[m] Quid? totum prope cœlum, ne plures perſequar, nonne humano genere completum eſt? Si vero ſcrutari vetera, & ex his ea, quæ ſcriptores *Græciæ* prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipſi illi, majorum gentium Dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperiuntur. Quære, quorum demonſtrantur ſepulchra in *Græcia:* REMINISCERE, QUONIAM ES INITIATUS QUÆ TRADANTUR MYSTERIIS; TUM DENIQUE QUAM HOC LATE PATEAT, INTELLIGES. *Tuſc. Diſp.* lib. i. cap. 13.

[n] Quid, qui aut fortes, aut claros aut potentes viros tradunt, *poſt mortem ad Deos veniſſe*, eosque eſſe ipſos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique ſoleamus — Ab Euhemero *& mortes & ſepulturæ demonſtrantur deorum.* Omitto *Eleuſinem* ſanctam illam & auguſtam — Prætereo *Samothraciam*, eaque

Julius

Julius Firmicus, as may be ſeen below, ſpeaks much to the ſame purpoſe, in his book *Of the error of paganiſm* °.

Quæ *Lemni*
Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur
Silveſtribus ſepibus denſa. *De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 42.

The words that follow, are, " Quibus explicatis ad rationem- " que revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoſcitur, quam De- " orum." Which M. Pluche, in his *Hiſtoire du Ciel*, brings to prove, that the purpoſe of the *myſteries* was not to explain the nature of the Gods; and tranſlates thus, " Quand ces my- " ſteres ſont expliqués & ramenés à leur vrai ſens, il ſe trouve " que c'eſt moins la nature des Dieux, qu'on nous y apprend, " que la nature des choſes mêmes, ou des vérités dont nous " avons beſoin." p. 401. *Hiſt. du Ciel*, ſeconde edit. But had he attended to the diſpute carried on in the dialogue, from whence theſe words of Cicero are quoted, he could hardly have thus miſtaken the ſenſe of his author. The reader has now the whole paſſage before him; in which it is ſaid, that Euhemerus taught the nature of the Gods; that they were dead men deified: and in which, it is clearly enough intimated, that the *Eleuſinian* and *Samothracian* myſteries taught the ſame doctrine. Yet, according to this tranſlator, Tully immediately adds, that, " when theſe myſteries are explained and " brought back to their true ſenſe, it is found, that not ſo " much the nature of the Gods is taught in them, as the na- " ture of things, or thoſe truths which our wants require us " to be inſtructed in." That is, the myſteries *did*, and they *did not* teach the nature of the Gods. But it is not for ſuch kind of talk, that Cicero has been ſo long admired. The words, *quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis* &c. have a quite different meaning. Velleius, the Epicurean, had undertaken to explain the nature of the Gods. Cotta, the Academic, ſhews, in his anſwer, that, under pretence of teaching the nature of the Gods, he, Velleius, took away all religion; juſt as thoſe did, who ſaid, the notion of the Gods was invented by politicians, for the uſe of ſociety; juſt as Prodicus Chius did, who ſaid, men made Gods of every thing they found beneficial to them; juſt as Euhemerus did, who ſaid, they were dead men deified: I forbear (ſays Cotta) to ſpeak of what is taught in the *myſteries:* and then follow the words in queſtion: " Qui- " bus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis na- " tura cognoſcitur quam deorum." That is, " If you will " weigh (ſays Cotta) and conſider all theſe opinions, ſo like " your own, they will lead you to the knowledge, not of the

What hath been here ſaid, will let us into the meaning of Plutarch's hint, in the following words of his tract *Concerning the ceaſing of oracles.* " As to " the *myſteries*, in whoſe repreſentations the true " NATURE OF DEMONS is clearly and accurately " held forth, a ſacred ſilence, to uſe an expreſſion " of Herodotus, is to be obſerved [p]."

" nature of the Gods, which you, Velleius, propoſed to diſ- " courſe of, but to the nature of things, which is quite an- " other conſideration." Or, in clearer terms, it was, he tells us, Velleius's drift to bring men from *religion* to *naturaliſm*. This obſervation is to the purpoſe; and ſhews that Velleius had deviated from his argument. But what M. Pluche makes him ſay, is to no body's purpoſe but his own. In a word, *quibus explicatis* &c. relates to all that Cotta had ſaid of the Epicureans — of thoſe who made religion the invention of ſtateſmen — of Prodicus Chius — of Euhemerus, and of the *myſteries*. But M. Pluche makes it relate only to the *myſteries*. It had hardly been worth while to take this notice of M. Pluche's interpretation of Cicero, had it not been evident, that his purpoſe in it was to diſguiſe the liberty he took of tranſcribing the general explanation of the MYSTERIES, as delivered in the firſt edition of this volume, printed in 1738, into the ſecond edition of his book, called *Hiſtoire du Ciel*, printed 1741, without the leaſt notice or acknowledgment. But for a further account of this matter, I refer the reader to a diſcourſe, intitled *Obſervations ſur l'explication que M. l'Abbé Pluche donne des myſteres & de la mythologie des payens dans ſon Hiſtoire du Ciel*, written with much judgment and ſolidity, by M. de Silhouette: who has entirely ſubverted M. Pluche's fanciful ſyſtem, as well as proved, that he took his idea of the *myſteries* from the *Divine Legation*. It is in the fifth diſſertation of a work, intitled *Diſſertations ſur l'union de la religion, de la morale, & de la politique*.

[o] Adhuc ſuperſunt aliæ ſuperſtitiones, quarum ſecreta pandenda ſunt Liberi & Liberæ, quæ omnia ſacris ſenſibus veſtris ſpecialiter intimanda ſunt, ut in iſtis profanis religionibus ſciatis MORTES ESSE HOMINUM CONSECRATAS. *Liber* itaque, Jovis fuit filius, regis ſcil. Cretici, &c. *De errore profan. relig.* cap. 6.

[p] Περὶ τῶν μυστικῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμφάσεις καὶ ἀμφάσεις λαθεῖν ἐστι τὰ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀληθείας, εὔσχημόν μοι κεῖσθω, καθ' Ἡρόδοτον. P. 742. Steph. edit.

Thus

Thus far in detection of polytheiſm. — With regard to the *doctrine of the unity*, Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that the Egyptian myſtagogues taught it amongſt their greater ſecrets. "The Egyptians (ſays he) did not uſe to reveal "their myſteries indiſcriminately to all, nor ex- "poſe their truths concerning their Gods to the "prophane, but to thoſe only who were to ſuc- "ceed to the adminiſtration of the ſtate: and to "ſuch of the prieſts as were moſt approved, by "their education, learning, and quality [q]."

But, to come to the Grecian myſteries. Chryſippus, as quoted by the author of the *Etymol. magnum*, ſpeaks to this purpoſe. "And Chry- "ſippus ſays, that the ſecret doctrines concern- "ing divine matters, are rightly called ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ, "for that theſe are the laſt things the initiated "ſhould be informed of: the ſoul having gained "an able ſupport; and, being poſſeſſed of her "deſires [r], can keep ſilent before the uninitiated "and prophane [s]." To the ſame purpoſe, Clemens: "The doctrines delivered in the greater "myſteries, are concerning the univerſe. Here "all inſtruction ends. Things are ſeen as they "are; and nature, and the things of nature, are "given to be comprehended [t]."

[q] Αἰγύπτιοι δ᾽ τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι τὰ περὶ θεῶν σοφίσιν ἀνελίθετο μυσήρια θέσθαι μὴ βεβήλοις τ᾽ τῶν θείων εἰδήσιν ὑφέφερον. ἀλλ᾽ ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρεῖναι· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς κριθεῖσιν ἐν δοκιμωτάτοις ἀπὸ τ᾽ τροφῆς, καὶ τῆς παιδείας καὶ τοῦ γένους. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 566. edit Lut.

[r] i. e. miſtreſs of herſelf.

[s] Χρύσιππος δέ φησι, τὰς περὶ τῶν θείων λόγους εἰκότως καλεῖσθαι τελετάς· χρῆναι γὰρ τέτας τελευταίους, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδάσκεσθαι τ᾽ ψυχῆς ἐχούσης ἔρμα, καὶ κεκρατημένης, καὶ πρὸς ἀμυήτους σιωπᾶν δυναμένης· μέλα γὰρ ἐν τὸ ἄθλον, ἐὰν θεῶν ἀκοῦσαί τε ἔρῃ, καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς γένεσθαι αὐτῶν. *Etymol. Auctor*, in ΤΕΛΕΤΗ.

[t] Τὰ δὲ μεγάλα περὶ τῶν συμπάντων· ὃ μανθάνειν ἔτι ὑπολείπεται, ἐποπτεύειν δὲ καὶ θεωρεῖν τ᾽ φύσιν καὶ τὰ πράγματα. *Strom.* v.

Strabo having ſaid [v], that *nature dictated to men the inſtitution of the myſteries*, as well as the other rites of religion, gives this remarkable reaſon for his aſſertion, "that the ſecret celebration of the "myſteries preſerves the majeſty due to the di-"vinity, and, at the ſame time, imitates its na-"ture, which hides itſelf from our ſenſes [w]." A plain intimation of the nature of the ſecret. And had there been any ambiguity, he preſently removes it, where, ſpeaking of the different faculties exerciſed in the different rites of religion, he makes *philoſophy* to be the object of the *myſteries* [x]. Plutarch expreſly ſays, that the firſt cauſe of all things is communicated to thoſe who approach the temple of Iſis with prudence and ſanctity [y]. By which words he means, the *neceſſary qualifications for initiation.*

We have ſeen Cicero expreſly declaring, that the *Eleuſinian* and *Samothracian* myſteries were partly employed in detecting the error of polytheiſm. We ſhall now find Galen intimating, not obſcurely, that the doctrine of the divine nature was taught in thoſe very *myſteries.* In his excellent tract *Of the uſe of the parts* of the human body, he has theſe words — "The ſtudy, therefore, of "the uſe of the parts, is not only of ſervice to the "mere phyſician, but of much greater to him "who joins philoſophy to the art of healing;

[v] ἡ φύσις ἔτως ὑπαγορεύσ. lib. x.

[w] ἥτε κεύψις ἡ μυστικὴ, τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μιμεμένη τὴν φύσιν αὐτῦ ἐκφύγυσαν ἡμῶν τ αἴσθησιν. Here Strabo takes in all that is ſaid, both of the *Gods*, and of *nature*, in the two preceding paſſages from Chryſippus and Clemens; and ſhews that by *nature* is not meant the *coſmical* but *theological* nature.

[x] — κ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

— ὀνομάζε γὰρ Ἴσειον ὡς εἰσόμβον τὸ ὄν, ἂν μετὰ λόγυ κ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ παρέλθωμεν τ θεῦ. ΙΣ. κ ΟΣ.

" and, in order to perfect himſelf in this *myſtery*, " labours to inveſtigate the *univerſal nature*. They " who *initiate* themſelves here, whether private " men or bodies, will find, in my opinion, nobler " inſtruction than in the rites either of ELEU- " SIS or *Samothrace*[z]." By which he means, that the ſtudy of the *uſe* of the parts of animals, leads us eaſier and ſooner up to the knowledge of the firſt Cauſe, than the moſt venerable of the *myſteries*, ſuch as the *Eleuſinian* and *Samothracian*. A clear implication, that to lead men thither was their ſpecial buſineſs.

But this ſeems to have been ſo well known to the learned in the time of EUSEBIUS, that where this writer takes occaſion to obſerve, that the Hebrews were the only people whoſe object, in their *public and national worſhip*, was the GOD OF THE UNIVERSE, he ſuits his whole expreſſion, by one continued metaphor, to the uſages of the *myſteries*. " For the Hebrew people alone (ſays he) was re- " ſerved the honour of being INITIATED into the " knowledge of God the creator of all things, " and of being inſtructed in the practice of true " piety towards him[a]." Where, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑ, which

[z] ἐκ ἓν ἰατρῶ μόνον ἡ περὶ χρείας μορίων ἐστὶ παραμαλεία χρησίμη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰατρῶ φιλοσόφῳ, τῶ ὅλης φυσεως ἐπιστήμων κλησαδαι ἀξιοδοθῆι, ἢ κατ' ἀξιῶ χρὴ τελεῖσθαι τῶ τελδυτὴν, ἄπαιλας γὰρ, ὡς ὄιμαι, ἢ κατ' ἔθνη, ἢ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀνθρώπες, ὅσοι τι μυῶσιν ἑαυτὲς, εὑρὴν ὅμοιον ἔχοντα Ἐλευσινίοις τε ἢ Σαμοθρακίοις ὀργίοις. Gal. *De uſu par.* lib. xvii. Petit, inſtead of ὅσοι τιμῶσιν ἑαυτὲς, reads very ingeniouſly ὅσοι τι μυῶσιν ἑαυτὲς.

[a] μόνῳ δὲ τῷ Ἑβραίων γένει τῶ ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναδεδεῖχθαι τῆς ΘΕΩΡΙΑΣ τὲ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὲ ἢ ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΥ Θεὲ, ἢ τῆ εἰ αὐτὸν ἀληθῆς δυσεβείας. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 9. *Euſebius* ſays, Scripture tells us this, τᾶτο ὃ ἢ οἱ ἱεροὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς διδασκαλοι λεγοι. And ſo indeed it does even in the general tenor of its hiſtory. But I am perſuaded this learned writer had his eye on ſome particular paſſage; probably on the xlv[th] chapter of *Iſaiah*, where the prophet foretelling the conqueſts of *Cyrus*, and the ex-

ſignifies *the inſpection of the ſecret*; ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, the *contemplation* of it; and ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, the *creator*, the ſubject of it, are all words appropriated to the *ſecret* of the *greater myſteries*.

Josephus is ſtill more expreſs. He tells Apion, that that high and ſublime knowledge, which the Gentiles with difficulty attained unto, in the rare and temporary celebration of their *myſteries*, was habitually taught to the Jews, at all times. And what was this ſublime knowledge, but the doctrine of the UNITY? "Can any government (ſays he) be "more holy than this? or any religion better ad- "apted to the nature of the Deity? Where, in any "place but in this, are the whole people, by the "ſpecial diligence of the prieſts, to whom the care "of public inſtruction is committed, accurately "taught the principles of true piety? So that the

altation of his empire, apoſtrophizes the God of *Iſrael* in this manner, *Verily thou art a God* THAT HIDEST THYSELF, *O God of* Iſrael *the Saviour*, ℣ 15. This was ſaid with great propriety of the Creator of all things, the ſubject of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or *Secret*, in all the *Myſteries* throughout the *Gentile* World; and particularly of thoſe of *Mithras*, in that Country which was the ſcene of the prophecy. That this is the true ſenſe of this obſcure paſſage, appears from the following words of the ſame chapter, where God himſelf addreſſeth the Jewiſh people: *I have not ſpoken* IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE *of the earth: I ſaid not unto the ſeed of* Jacob, *Seek ye me* IN VAIN, ℣ 19. This was ſaid, to ſhew that he was taught amongſt them in a different way from that participation of his nature to a *few ſelect Gentiles*, in their *Myſteries*; celebrated *in ſecret, and in dark* ſubterraneous *places*; which not being done in order to give him glory, by promoting his public and general worſhip, was done *in vain*. Theſe were the two places, (explained by one another) which, I preſume, furniſhed *Euſebius* with his obſervation, *That for the* Hebrew *people alone was reſerved the honour of being initiated into the knowledge of God the Creator of all Things, and of being inſtructed in the practice of true piety towards him.* ——This naturally leads us to the explanation of thoſe oracles of *Apollo*, quoted by *Euſebius* [*Præp. Evang.* l ix. c. x] from *Porphyry*; the ſenſe of which neither theſe ancient writers, nor our Sir

"body

" body-politic ſeems, as it were, one great *aſſembly*, " conſtantly kept together, for the celebration of " ſome ſacred MYSTERIES. For thoſe things " which the Gentiles keep up for a few days only, " that is, during thoſe ſolemnities they call *my-* " *ſteries* and INITIATIONS, we, with vaſt delight, " and a plenitude of knowledge, which admits " of no error, fully enjoy, and perpetually con- " template through the whole courſe of our lives. " If you aſk (continues he) the nature of thoſe " things, which in our ſacred rites are enjoined " and forbidden; I anſwer they are ſimple, and " eaſily underſtood. The firſt inſtruction relates

John Marſham ſeem rightly to have underſtood. The firſt is in theſe Words,

> Αἰπεινὴ γὰρ ὁδὸς μακάρων, τρηχειά τε πολλὸν,
> Χαλκοδέτοις τὰ πρῶτα διϊνγομένη πυλεῶσιν.
> Ἀλλ' ἀπιστοὶ ἔασιν ἀθέσφατοι ἐγγεγαῦαι,
> Ἃς πρῶτοι μερόπων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πρῆξιν ἔφηναν
> Οἱ τὸ καλὸν πάτ. οἷες ὕδωρ Νειλώτιδος αἴης.

The Way to the Knowledge of the Divine Nature is extremely rugged, and of difficult Aſcent. The Entrance is ſecured by brazen gates, opening to the adventurer; and the roads, to be paſſed thro', impoſſible to be deſcrib'd. Theſe, to the vaſt benefit of mankind, were firſt marked out by the EGYPTIANS.

The ſecond is as follows:

> Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαν λάχον ἠδ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
> Αὐτογενέθλιον ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἁγνῶς.

True wiſdom was the lot only of the CHALDEANS *and* HEBREWS, *who worſhip the governor of the world, the ſelf-exiſtent deity, with pure and holy rites.*

Marſham, ſuppoſing after *Euſebius*, that the SAME THING was ſpoken of in both the Oracles, ſays, *Certe nulla eſt controverſia quin* περὶ μοναρχίας, *de unius regimine ſive de unico Deo. revereas fuerit & rectiſſima Ebræorum, non item recta Ægyptiorum exiſti-*

" to the DEITY, and teaches that GOD CONTAINS " ALL THINGS, and is a Being every way perfect " and happy: that he is self-existent, and the sole " cause of all existence; the beginning, the middle, " and the end of all things [b]," &c.

matio. And again,—*Verum Apollo parum sibi constans.* [*Canon. Chron.* p. 255,—6. edit. *Fr.*] because in the one Oracle, the *Egyptians* are said to be the *first*; and in the other, the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* the *only* People who knew the true God. But they are very consistent; they treat of DIFFERENT THINGS: The first, of the *Knowledge* of the true God; and the second, of his *public Worship.* This appears by the different terms in which the Oracles are delivered: The *Hebrews*, whom the Oracle by another name calls *Chaldæans*, were well known to be the *only* people who *publicly worshiped* the true God. But the *knowledge* of him being likewise taught, tho' to *few*, all over the *Gentile* world, and only in the *Mysteries*, and the Mysteries coming, as we have shewn, originally from *Egypt*, the Oracle says, that the *Egyptians first taught men the knowledge of the divine natures.* But that it was in *this way*, his words plainly intimate:

Ἀτραπιοὶ δ' ἔασιν ἀϋτέσφαλοι ἐγλελαῖαι,

which exactly describe the embarrassed and perplexed condition of the *Initiated* before they came to the participation of this knowledge. But when the same Oracle speaks of the *Hebrews*' knowledge of God, he uses a very different language,

σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἁγνῶς,

evidently respecting the calm and settled state of public worship. I will only observe, that the frights and terrors to which the initiated were exposed, gave birth to all those metaphorical terms of *Difficulty* and *Danger* so constantly employed by the *Greek* writers, whenever they speak of the Communication of the true God.

[b] Τίς ἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ γλίσοιτο ταύτης ἐπιστέρα; τίς δὲ Θ. ᾧ τιμὴ μᾶλλον ἀσμάζουσα, πανίδιος μὲν τὸ πλήθος καλεσκλυασμάθῳ πρὸς τὸ εὐσέβειαν, ἐξαίρετον δὲ τῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἱερέων πεπιστεύμενον, ὥσπερ δὲ τελετῆς τινος τῆς ὅλης παλιδείας οἰκουμενικῆς; ἃ γὰρ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιπλεύσιλες ἀλλόφυλοι φιλάτιμον ἐ δυνάμῃ, μυστήρια καὶ τελετὰς ἐνομάζοντες, ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς ἐδοκῆς καὶ γνώμης ἀμελιαπείστου φυ-

Nothing

Nothing can be more explicit than the testimony of this learned Jew. He not only alludes to the *greater mysteries*, by the direct terms of τελετῆς and μυσήρια, but uses several expressions relative to what the gentile *mystagogues* taught therein; such as ἄπροφυλοι φυλάτλειν ὁ δυώνυ, referring to the unfitness of the doctrine of the unity, for general instruction: such as μὴ πολλῆς ἡδονῆς, in contradiction to what they taught of the labours, pain, and difficulties to be encountered by those who aspired to the knowledge of the first cause: such as ἁπλαῖ καὶ γνώριμοι, in contradiction to what they taught of the great intricacy and obscurity of the question: and such, again, as ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα πανταχῆ, the characteristic of the ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ of the mysteries.

Thus, I think, it appears, that the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, in the *greater mysteries*, were the detection of the origine of vulgar *polytheism*[c]; and the discovery of the doctrine of the *unity*.

λάτλομλν ἡμεῖς λλὰ τῦ παντὸς αἰῶνθ. τίνες ὧν εἰσιν αἱ προρρήσεις καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἁπλαῖ τε καὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγεῖται περὶ Θεῦ, λέγουσα, ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα πανταχῆ καὶ μακάριθ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐταρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα, καὶ τέλθ πάντων. *Cont. Ap.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

[c] What hath been said will give light to a strange story told by Thucydides, Plutarch, and others, of a debauch and night-ramble of Alcibiades, just before his expedition to Syracuse. In which, they say, he revealed to, and acted over with, his companions; the *mysteries of Ceres:* that he assumed the office of the *hierophant*, and called some of those he initiated ῦται, and others, Ἐπόπ: and that, lastly, they broke all the statues of Hermes. These are mentioned as distinct actions, and unconnected with one another. But now we see their relation, and how one arose from the other: for Alcibiades having revealed the origine of polytheism, and the doctrine of the unity, to his companions; nothing was more natural than for men, heated with wine, to run forth, in a kind of religious fury, and break the statues of their idols. For, what he acted over, was the *greater mysteries*, as appears from Plutarch's calling

I will venture to go further; and give the very HISTORY repeated, and the very HYMN ſung, on theſe occaſions to the *initiated:* in the *firſt* of which was delivered the true origine and progreſs of vulgar polytheiſm; and in the *other*, the unity of the deity.

For it appears to me, that the celebrated fragment of SANCHONIATHO, the phœnician, tranſlated by Philo Byblius, and preſerved by Euſebius, containing a genealogical account of the firſt ages, is that HISTORY, as it was wont to be read to the *initiated*, in the celebration of the egyptian and phœnician *myſteries*. The purpoſe of it being to inform us, that their popular Gods (whoſe chronicle is there given according to their generations) were only dead men deified.

And as this curious and authentic *record* (for ſuch we ſhall find it was) not only ſerves to illuſtrate the ſubject we are now upon, but will be of uſe to ſupport what is ſaid hereafter of the riſe, progreſs, and order of the ſeveral ſpecies of ancient idolatry, it may not be improper to give a ſhort extract of it in this place.

I. He tells us, then, that, "of the two firſt mortals, Protogonus and Æon, (the latter of whom was the author of ſeeking and procuring food from foreſt-trees) were begotten Genos and Genea. Theſe, in the time of great droughts, ſtretched their hands upwards to the SUN, whom they regarded as a God, and ſole ruler of the heavens. From theſe, after two or three generations, came Upſouranios and his brother Ouſous. One of them invented the art of building cottages of reeds and

them the *myſteries of Ceres*, ſhe preſiding in the *greater*, as Proſerpine in the *leſſer*; and from Alcibiades's calling ſome Ἐποπτίδαι, the name of thoſe who participated of the *greater* myſteries.

ruſhes;

rushes; the other the art of making garments of the skins of wild beasts. In their time, violent tempests of wind and rain having rubbed the large branches of the forest-trees against one another, they took fire, and burnt up the woods. Of the bare trunks of trees, they first made vessels to pass the waters; they consecrated two pillars to FIRE and WIND, and then offered bloody sacrifices to them as to Gods [d]." And here let it be observed, that this *worship of the elements* and heavenly bodies is truly represented as the FIRST species of idolatry.

II. "After many generations, came Chrysor; and he likewise invented many things useful to civil life; for which, after his decease, he was worshiped as a God [e]. Then flourished Ouranos and his sister Ge; who deified and offered sacrifices to their father Upsistos, when he had been torn in pieces by wild beasts [f]. Afterwards Cronos consecrated Muth his son, and was himself consecrated

[d] Αἰῶνα καὶ Πρωτόγονον θνητοὺς ἄνδρας, ἕτω καλουμένους· εὑρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων τροφήν. ἐκ τέτων τοὺς γιγνομένους κληθῆναι Γένος, καὶ Γενεάν — αὐχμῶν δὲ γιγνομένων, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγειν εἰς ἀρετὴν πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. τοῦτον γάρ, φησὶ, θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον ἀραιτὲ κύριον — εἶτά φησι τὸν Ὑψουράνιον οἰκῆσαι Τύρον, καλύβας τε ὀπιποῆσαι ἀπὸ καλάμων, καὶ θρύων, καὶ παπύρων· γασιάσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ουσωὸν, ὃς σκέπην τῷ σώματι πρῶτος ἐκ δερμάτων ὧν ἴσχυσε συλλαβεῖν θηρίων εὗρε. ἐαγδαίων δὲ γενομένων ὄμβρων καὶ πνευμάτων διατριβὴν τὰ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ δένδρα πῦρ ἀνάψαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτόθι ὕλην καταφλέξαι. δένδρε δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Ουσωὸν καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θάλασσαν ἐμβῆναι· ἀπιερῶσαι δὲ δύο γήλας πυρί τε καὶ πνεύματι καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, ἅμα τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς, οἷς ὧν ἤγρευε θηρίων.

[e] —— οἷς ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφὼς σιδήρε εὑρετὰς, καὶ τὸ τότε ἐργασίας· ὧν θάτερον τὸν Ἥφαιστον. εὑρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον, καὶ δέλεαρ, καὶ ὁρμιὰν, καὶ σχεδίαν· πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι. διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν.

[f] Ὁ δὲ τότων πάλιν ὁ Ὕψιστος ἐκ συμβολῆς θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερώθη, ᾧ καὶ χοαὶ καὶ θυσίαι οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν.

[g] — Καὶ μετ' ὀλὺ, ἕτερον αὐτῷ παῖδα ἀπὸ Ῥέας ὀνομαζόμενον Μὺθ ἀποθανόντα ἀφιεροῦ —— Κρόνος τοίνυν, βασιλεύων τῆς χώρας, καὶ

by

by his ſubjects[g]." And this is as truly repreſented to be the SECOND ſpecies of idolatry; the *worſhip of dead men.*

III. He goes on, and ſays, that "Ouranos was the inventor of the Bætylia, a kind of animated ſtones, framed with great art[h]. And that Taautus formed allegoric figures, characters, and images of the celeſtial Gods and elements[i]." In which is delivered the THIRD ſpecies of idolatry, *ſtatue and brute worſhip.* For by the animated ſtones, is meant ſtones cut into a human ſhape[k]; brute, unformed ſtones being before this invention conſecrated and adored. As by Taautus's invention of allegoric figures, is inſinuated (what was truly the fact) the origine of brute worſhip[l] from the uſe of *hieroglyphics.*

This is a very ſhort and imperfect extract of the *fragment*; many particulars, to avoid tedioufneſs, are omitted, which would much ſupport what we are upon, particularly a minute detail of the principal arts invented for the uſe of civil life. But what has been ſelected on this head, will afford a good comment to a celebrated paſſage of Cicero, quoted, in this ſection, on another occaſion. — As the two important doctrines, taught *in ſecret*, were the detection of *polytheiſm*, and the diſcovery of the *unity*; ſo, the two capital doctrines taught more *openly*, were the origin of ſociety with the

ὕστερον μετὰ τὸν τῆ βίᾳ τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν τῆ Κρόνᾳ ἀστέρα καθιερωθείς.

[h] ἔτι δὲ, φησὶν, ἐπενόησε Θεὸς Οὐρανὸς Βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος. —

[i] — περὶ δὲ τούτων Θεὸς Ταυτὸς μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν τῶν ἰδίων ἰδέας, Κρόνᾳ τε καὶ Δαγῶνος, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διεῖδωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακτῆρας, &c.

[k] So when the Egyptians firſt ſaw the Grecian artiſts ſeparate the legs of their ſtatues, they put fetters on them, to prevent their running away.

[l] See *Div. Leg.* book iv. § 4.

arts

arts of life, and the exiſtence of the ſoul after death in a ſtate of reward or puniſhments. Theſe latter doctrines Tully hints at in the following words: "— mihi cum multa eximia divinaque vi- "dentur Athenæ peperiſſe — tum nihil melius il- "lis myſteriis, quibus ex AGRESTI immanique vi- "ta EXCULTI ad humanitatem & mitigati ſumus: "— neque ſolum cum lætitia vivendi rationem ac- "cepimus, ſed etiam cum ſpe meliore moriendi.[m]" The fragment explains what Tully meant by *men's being drawn by the myſteries from an irrational and ſavage life, and tamed, as it were, and broken to humanity.* It was, we ſee, by the information given them, concerning the origine of ſociety, and the inventors of the arts of life; and the rewards they received, from grateful poſterity, for making themſelves benefactors to mankind. Tully, who thought this a ſtrong excitement to public virtue, provides for it in his *Laws:* — "Divos & eos qui "cæleſtes ſemper habiti, colunto: & ollos, quos "endo cælo MERITA locaverunt Herculem, Li- "berum, Æſculapium[n]," &c.

The reaſons which induce me to think this fragment the very *Hiſtory* narrated to the Ἐποπτ, in the celebration of the greater myſteries, are theſe:

1. It bears an exact conformity with what the ancients tell us that *Hiſtory* contained in general, namely, an inſtruction, that all the national Gods, as well thoſe *majorum* (ſuch as Hypſiſtus, Ouranos, and Cronos) as thoſe *minorum gentium*, were only dead men deified: together with a recommendation of the advantages of civil life above the ſtate of nature, and an excitement to the moſt conſiderable of the initiated (the *ſummatibus viris*, as Macrobius calls them) to procure it. And

[m] *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 14.
[n] *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 8.

theſe

theſe two ends are ſerved together, in the hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of idolatry as delivered in this fragment. In the date it gives to the origine of idolatry, they were inſtructed that the two firſt mortals were not idolaters, and conſequently, that idolatry was the corruption of a better religion; a matter of importance, where the purpoſe was to diſcredit polytheiſm. The Hiſtory ſhews us too, that this had the common fate of all corruptions, of falling from bad to worſe, from *elementary* worſhip to *human*, and from *human* to *brutal*. But this was not enough; it was neceſſary too to expoſe the unreaſonableneſs of all theſe modes of ſuperſtition. And as this could be only done by ſhewing what gave birth to the ſeveral ſpecies, we are told, that not any occult or metaphyſic influences of the heavenly or elementary bodies upon men, but their common phyſical effects felt by us, occaſioned the firſt worſhip to be paid unto them: that no imaginary divinity in the minds of patriarchs and heroes, occaſioned grateful poſterity to bring them into the number of the Gods; but a warm ſenſe for what they had invented for the introduction and promotion of civil life: and that even brute worſhip was brought in without the leaſt conſideration to the animal, but as its figure was a ſymbol only of the properties of the two other ſpecies. Again, in order to recommend civil life, and to excite men to promote it's advantages, a lively picture is given of his miſerable condition, and how obnoxious he was, in that ſtate, to the rage of all the elements, and how imperfectly, while he continued in it, he could, with all his induſtry, fence againſt them, by food of acorns, by cottages of reeds, and by coats of ſkins: a matter the *myſteries* thought ſo neceſſary to be impreſſed, that we find, by Diodorus Siculus, there was a

ſcenical

scenical representation of this state exhited in their *shews*. And what stronger excitement had heroic minds, than to be taught, as they are in this fragment, that public benefits to their fellow creatures were rewarded with immortality. As all these things, therefore, so essential to the instruction of the mysteries, are here taught with an art and disposition peculiarly calculated to promote those ends, we have reason to conclude, that this History was composed for the use of the *mysteries*.

2. My second reason for supposing it to be that very History, is our being told, that Sanchoniatho transcribed the account from secret records, kept in the penetralia of the temples, and written in a sacred sacerdotal character, called the Ammonean[o], from the place where they were first deposited; which, as Marsham reasonably supposes, was Ammonno, or Thebes, in Egypt[p]: a kind of writing employed, (as we have shewn elsewhere) by the hierophants of the mysteries.

3. Thirdly, we are informed, that this sacred commentary was composed by the CABIRI, at the command, and by the direction of Thoth[q]. Now these *Cabiri* were the principal *hierophants* of the *mysteries*. The name *Cabiri* is, indeed, used by the ancients indifferently, to signify three several persons; the *Gods*, in whose honour the mysteries were instituted; the *institutors* of the mysteries; and the principal *hierophants* who officiated in them. In the first sense we find it used by He-

[o] — ὁ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν εὑρεθεῖσαν ἀποκρύφοις Ἀμμονέων γράμμασι συγκειμένοις, ἃ δὴ ἐκ ἦν πᾶσι γνώσιμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἁπάντων αὐτὸς ἤσκησε.

[p] Chron. Can. p. 234. Lond. edit.

[q] Ταῦτα δὲ, φησὶ, πρῶτοι πάντων ὑπεμνημάτισαν οἱ ἑπτὰ Συδὲκ παῖδες ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ, καὶ ὄγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐνετείλατο θεὸς Τααυτός.

rodotus,

rodotus, who ſpeaks of the images of the *Cabiri* in the egyptian temples[r]; and by the ſcholiaſt on Apollonius, who tells us, there were four ſamothracian *Cabiri*, Axieros, Axiokerſa, Axiokerſos, and Caſmilus; that is to ſay, Ceres, Proſerpine, Pluto, and Mercury. Pauſanias, in his *Beotics*, uſes the word in the ſecond ſenſe, where he makes mention of the *Cabiri* Prometheus and his ſon Ætnæus, to whom was committed the ſacred depoſit of the myſteries by Ceres[s]. And Strabo uſes it in the third ſenſe, where he ſpeaks of the *Cabiri* as miniſters in the ſacred myſteries[t]. It is no wonder there ſhould be this difference amongſt the ancients in their accounts of theſe Wights. The *Cabiri* was a ſacred appellation, which was transferred from the *God* of the myſteries, through the *inſtitutors* of them, down to the *miniſters* who officiated in them. And in this laſt ſenſe it is uſed by Sanchoniatho. The ſame kind of confuſion, and proceeding from the ſame cauſe, we find in the ancient accounts concerning the founder of the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; ſome aſcribing the inſtitution to Ceres or Triptolemus, the Gods in whoſe honour they were celebrated; others, to Erectheus, who, indeed, founded them; and others again, to Eumolpus and

[r] Καμβύσης — ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρὸν, ἐς τὸ ἐ θεμιτόν ὄζι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα. ταῦτα δὲ τ' ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε, πολλὰ καλασκάψας. lib. iii. cap. 37.

[s] Πόλιν γάρ ποτε ἐν τέτῳ φασὶν εἶ) τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ἄνδρας ὀνομαζομένης Καβείρης. Προμηθεῖ δὲ ἐνὶ τῶν Καβειραίων καὶ Αἰτναίῳ τῷ Προμηθέως ἀφικομένην Δήμητραν ἐς γνῶσιν ἀδιδαχαλαθέδαι σφίσιν. ἥτις μὲν δὴ ἦν ἡ ἀδιδαχαλαθήκη, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν γενόμενα, ἐκ ἐφαίτελοῦσιέν μοι γεάφειν. Δημήτρος γὲν Καβειραίοις δῶρόν ὄζι ἡ τελεή. *Bæot.* lib. ix. cap. 25.

[t] — τῶν μὲν, τὲς αὐτὲς τοῖς Κερῆσι τὲς Κορύβαντας καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΥΣ καὶ Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους, καὶ Τελχῖνας ὀνυφαινόντων· τῶν δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ μικράς τινας αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς διαστελλόντων. lib. x.

Muſæus

Muſæus, the firſt who miniſtred there in the office of hierophants.

4. But, fourthly and laſtly, we are told, that when this genealogical hiſtory came into the hands of a certain ſon of Thabion, the firſt hierophant on record amongſt the Phœnicians, he, after having corrupted it with allegories, and intermixed phyſical and coſmical affections with hiſtorical (that is, made the one ſignificative of the other) DELIVERED IT TO THE PROPHETS OF THE ORGIES, AND THE HIEROPHANTS OF THE MYSTERIES; who left it to their ſucceſſors (one of which was Oſiris) and to the initiated[v]. So that now we have an expreſs teſtimony for the fact here advanced, that this was the very *hiſtory* read to the Ἐποπτ in the celebration of the *greater myſteries*.

But one thing is too remarkable to paſs by unobſerved: and that is, Sanchoniatho's account of the corruption of this *hiſtory* with *allegories* and *phyſical affections*, by one of his own countrymen; and of it's delivery, in that ſtate, to the Egyptians, (for Iſiris is the ſame as Oſiris) who corrupted it ſtill more. That the pagan mythology was, indeed, thus corrupted, I have ſhewn at large, in ſeveral parts of this work: but I believe, not ſo early as is here pretended: which makes me ſuſpect that Sanchoniatho lived in a later age than his interpreter, Philo, aſſigns to him. And what confirms me in this ſuſpicion, is that mark of national vanity and partiality, common to after-times, in making the *myſteries* of his own country original, and conveyed from Phœnicia to Egypt. Where-

[v] Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίωνος παῖς, παρὰ τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος γεγονότων Φοινίκων ἱεροφάντης ἀλληγορήσας, τοῖς τε φυσικοῖς καὶ κοσμικοῖς πάθεσιν ἀναλίξας παρέδωκε τοῖς ΟΡΓΙΩΣΙ καὶ ΤΕΛΕΤΩΝ καθάρχοις ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙΣ. οἱ δὲ τὸν τύφον αὔξειν ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἐπιφοίτου, τοῖς αὐτανδρώδεσι παρέδωκαν καὶ τοῖς ἐπεισάκτοις. ὧν εἷς ἦν Ἴσιρις.

as it is very certain, they came firſt from Egypt. But of this, elſewhere. However, let the reader take notice, that the queſtion concerning the *antiquity* of Sanchoniatho does not at all affect our inference concerning the nature and uſe of this hiſtory [w].

We now come to the HYMN celebrating the unity of the godhead, which was ſung in the *Eleuſinian myſteries* by the hierophant, habited like the CREATOR [x]. And this, I take to be the little OR-

[w] A criticiſm of that very knowing and ſagacious writer, father Simon of the Oratory, will ſhew the reader how groundleſs the ſuſpicions of learned men are concerning the genuineneſs of this fragment. Father Simon imagines that Porphyry forged the hiſtory of Sanchoniatho, under the name of a tranſlation by Philo Byblius; and conjectures, his purpoſe in ſo doing was to ſupport paganiſm; by taking from it, its *mythology* and *allegories*, which the chriſtian writers perpetually objected to it. "Il ſe peut faire — pour repondre aux objections qu'on "leur faiſoit de toutes parts, ſur ce, que leur Theologie etoit "une pure Mythologie — ils remonterent juſques aux tems "qui avoient precedé les allegories & les fictions des ſacrifica-"teurs." *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. p. 140. But this learned man totally miſtakes the caſe. The chriſtians objected to vulgar paganiſm, that the ſtories told of their Gods, were *immoral*. To this their prieſts and philoſophers replied, that theſe ſtories were only *mythological allegories*, which veiled all the great truths of *Theology*, *Ethics*, and *Phyſics*. The chriſtians ſaid, this could not be; for that the ſtories of the Gods had a *ſubſtantial foundation in fact*, theſe Gods being only dead men deified, who, in life, had like paſſions and infirmities with others. For the truth of which they appealed to ſuch writers as Sanchoniatho, who had given the hiſtory both of their mortal and immortal ſtations and conditions. How then could ſo acute an adverſary as Porphyry, deeply engaged in this controverſy, ſo far miſtake the ſtate of the queſtion, and grounds of his defence, as to forge a book in ſupport of his cauſe, which totally overthrew it?

[x] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατ' ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ μυστηρίοις, ὁ ΔΗ Ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰκόνα τῷ δημιουργῷ ἐσκευάζεται. Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. A paſſage in Porphyry well explains this of Euſebius, and ſhews what kind of perſonage the *creator* was repreſented by; and that it was, like all the reſt, of Egyptian original; and in-

PHIC

PHIC poem quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus[y] and Euſebius[z]; which begins thus: "I will declare a SECRET to the Initiated; but let the "doors be ſhut againſt the profane. But thou, "O Muſæus, the offſpring of bright Selene, attend carefully to my ſong; for I ſhall deliver "the truth without diſguiſe. Suffer not, therefore, thy former prejudices to debar thee of "that happy life, which the knowledge of theſe "ſublime truths will procure unto thee: but carefully contemplate this divine oracle, and preſerve it in purity of mind and heart. Go on, "in the right way, and ſee THE SOLE GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD: HE IS ONE, AND OF "HIMSELF ALONE; AND TO THAT ONE ALL "THINGS OWE THEIR BEING. HE OPERATES "THROUGH ALL, WAS NEVER SEEN BY MORTAL EYES, BUT DOES HIMSELF SEE EVERY "ONE[a]."

troduced into theſe ſecret myſteries, for the reaſon above explained. Τὰ δὲ τῶν ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ πάλιν τοιαῦτά φησιν ἔχειν σύμβολα. Τὸν ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ, ὃν Κνὴφ, οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι περσαλογεύσαντες ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΕΙΔΗ, τὴν δὲ χροιὰν ὁπὸ κυανῷ μέλανι ἔχοντα, κεφαλῆτα ζώνην καὶ σκῆπτρον· ὀπὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πτερὸν βασίλειον περικείμενον, ΟΤΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΥΣΕΥΡΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΚΡΥΜΜΕΝΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΦΑΝΟΣ, καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιὸς, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεύς, καὶ ὅτι νοερῶς κινεῖται· διὸ καὶ τῷ πτερῷ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται. apud Euſeb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. cap. 11.

[y] *Admonitio ad gentes.*

[z] *Præp. Evang.* lib. xiii.

[a] Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις
Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε μήνης,
Μουσαῖ', ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τἀ πρὶν
Ἐν φρεσὶ φαιδίμα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ·
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τόνδε προτέθμον,
Ἰθυόων κραδίης ὁσίην ὁδὸν εὖ δ' ἐπίσκεπε
Ἀτραπιτόν· μὴν δ' ἰσόρα κόσμοιο ἄναλκα.
Εἷς δ' ἐστ' αὐτογενὴς, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς πέφανται· ὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.

The reaſons which ſupport my conjecture are theſe: 1. We learn from the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes and others, that hymns were ſung in the myſteries. 2. Orpheus, as we have ſaid, firſt brought the myſteries from Egypt into Thrace, and even religion itſelf: hence it was called Θρησκεία, as being ſuppoſed the invention of the Thracian. 3. The verſes, which go under the name of Orpheus, are, at leaſt, more ancient than Plato and Herodotus; though ſince interpolated. It was the common opinion, that they were genuine; and thoſe who doubted of that, yet gave them to the earlieſt Pythagoreans[b]. 4. The ſubject of them are the myſteries, under the ſeveral titles of[c] Θρονισμοὶ μηδρῷοι, τελεταὶ, ἱερὸς λόγος, and ἡ εἰς ᾅδου καλάβασις. 5. Pauſanias tells us, that Orpheus's hymns were ſung in the rites of Ceres, in preference to Homer's, though more elegant, for the reaſons given above[d]. 6. This hymn is addreſſed to Muſæus, his diſciple, who was ſaid, though falſely, to inſtitute the myſteries at Athens, as his maſter had done in Thrace[e]; and begins with the *formula* uſed by the myſtagogue on that occaſion, warning the prophane to keep at diſtance: and in the fourth line, mentions that *new life* or *regeneration*, to which the initiated were taught to aſpire. 7. No other original, than the ſinging the

[b] Laertius in *Vita Pythag.* and Suidas, voce Ὀρφεύς.

[c] The following paſſage of Dion. Chryſ. will explain the meaning of this Θρονισμὸς — Καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ ΘΡΟΝΙΣΜΩι καθίσαντες τὰς μυουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες, κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν. *Orat.* xii.

[d] Ὅσοις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἤδη τὰς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους εἶδεν ὅλας, ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν, ὀπὶ βραχύταλον, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν σπουδὴν πεποιημένους. Λυκομῆδαι δὲ ἴσασί τε καὶ ἐπαθυσι τοῖς ἐρωμένοις· κόσμῳ μὲ δὴ τῷ ἔπων δόλλερεῖα φέροιτο ἄν, μετ' Ὁμήρου γε τὰς ὕμνους· τιμῆς δὲ ἕκ τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐς πλέον ἐκείνων ἔχουσι. *Pauſan.* lib. ix. cap. 30. ſub fin. and again, to the ſame purpoſe, cap. 27.

[e] Tertull. Apol.

hymns

hymns of Orpheus in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, can be well imagined of that popular opinion, mentioned by Theodoret, that Orpheus inſtituted *thoſe* myſteries[f], when the Athenians had ſuch certain records of another founder. 8. We are told that one article of the Athenians' charge againſt Diagoras for revealing the myſteries, was his making the *Orphic-ſpeech*, or hymn, the ſubject of his common converſation[g]. 9. But laſtly, the account, which Clemens gives of this hymn, ſeems to put the matter out of queſtion: his words are theſe: "But the Thracian myſtagogue, who was at the "ſame time a poet, *Orpheus*, the ſon of Oeager, "after he had opened the myſteries, and ſung the "whole theology of idols, recants all he had ſaid, "and introduceth Truth. The Sacreds then truly "begin, though late, and thus he enters upon the "matter[h]." To underſtand the force of this paſſage, we are to know, that the myſtagogue explained the repreſentations in the myſteries; where, as we learn from Apuleius[i], the ſupernal and infernal Gods paſſed in review. To each of theſe they ſung an hymn; which Clemens calls the *theology of images*, or *idols*. Theſe are yet to be ſeen amongſt the works aſcribed to Orpheus. When all this was over, then came the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, delivered in the HYMN in queſtion. And, after that, the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, with theſe two barbarous

[f] See note (n) p. 138.

[g] Διαγόρα μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἐνεκάλουν Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν ΟΡΦΙΚΟΝ εἰς μέσον καταλιθέντι ΛΟΓΟΝ, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, καὶ τὰ τῶν Καβείρων δημοσίᾳ μυστήρια. Athenagoras in *Legat.*

[h] Ὁ δὲ Θρᾴκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἅμα, ὁ τοῦ Οἰάγρου Ὀρφεὺς, μετὰ τὸν Ὀγύγιον ἱεροφαντίαν, καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινῳδίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, καὶ ἱερὸν ὄντως ὀψὲ πάνυ, ὅμως δ' ὂν ᾄδων λόγον. *Admon. ad Gentes.*

[i] Acceſſi confinium mortis deos inferos, & deos ſuperos acceſſi coram, & adoravi de proximo. *Met.* lib. xi.

words, ΚΟΓΞ ΟΜΠΑΞ, which shews the mysteries not to have been originally Greek. The learned Mr. Le Clerc well observes, that this seems to be only an ill pronunciation of *kots* and *omphets*, which, he tells us, signify in the Phœnician tongue, *watch and abstain from evil* [k].

Thus the reader sees the end and use both of the *greater* and *lesser mysteries:* and that, as well in what they hid, as in what they divulged, all aimed at the benefit of the state. To this end, they were to draw in as many as they could to their general participation; which they did by spreading abroad the doctrine of a providence, and a future state; and how much happier the initiated should be, and what superior felicities they were intitled to, in another life. It was on this account that antiquity is so full and express in this part. But then, they were to make those they had got in as virtuous as they could; which they provided for, by discovering, to such as were capable of the secret, the whole delusion of polytheism. Now this being supposed the shaking foundations, was to be done with all possible circumspection, and under the most tremendous seal of secrecy [l]. For they taught, the Gods themselves punished the revealers of the *secret*; and not them only, but the hearers of it too [m]. Nor did they altogether trust to that neither: for, more effectually to curb an ungovernable curiosity, the state decreed capital punishments against the betrayers of the *myste-*

[k] *Bibl. Univ* tom. vi. p. 86.

[l] See cap. 20. of Meursius's *Eleusinia.*

[m] — Quæras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum? Dicerem, si dicere liceret; cognosceres, si liceret audire; sed parem noxam contraherent *aures & linguæ temerariæ curiositatis.* Apul. *Met.* lib. xi.

ries,

ries, and inflicted them with mercileſs ſeverity [n]. The caſe of Diagoras, the Melian, is too remarkable to be omitted. This man had revealed the *Orphic* and *Eleuſinian* myſteries: and ſo, paſſed with the people for an atheiſt; which at once confirms what hath been ſaid of the object of the *ſecret doctrines*, and of the miſchief that would attend an indiſcreet communication of them. He likewiſe diſſuaded his friends from being initiated into theſe rites: the conſequence of which was, that the city of Athens proſcribed him, and ſet a price upon his head [o]. While Socrates, who preached up the latter part of this doctrine (and was likewiſe a reputed atheiſt), and Epicurus, who taught the former (and was a real one) were ſuffered, becauſe they delivered their opinions only as points of philoſophic ſpeculation, amongſt their followers, to live a long time unmoleſted. And this, perhaps, was the reaſon why Socrates declined being initiated [p]. Which, as it appeared a ſingular affectation, expoſed him to much cenſure [q]. But it was foreborn with his uſual prudence. He remembered, that Æſchylus [r], on a mere imagination of his having given a hint in his ſcenes of ſomething in the myſteries, had like to have been torn in pieces on the ſtage by the people; and only eſcaped by an appeal to the areopagus; which

[n] Si quis arcanæ myſteria Cereris ſacra vulgâſſet, lege morti addicebatur. Τὸν ἐξειπόντα τὰ μυστήρια τεθνάναι. Meminit hujus legis Sopater in Diviſione quæſtionis. Sam. Petit in *Leges Atticas*, p. 33.

[o] Suidas voce Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος. — & etiam Athenagoras in *Legatione*.

[p] For that he had a good opinon of the myſteries, appears from the *Phædo* of Plato.

[q] Κατηγορῶντες — ὅτε ἐμυήθη μόνος ἀπάντων ταῖς Ἐλευσινίαις. Lucianus, *Demonacte*.

[r] Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. & Ariſt. lib. iii. cap. 1. *Nicom. Eth.*

venerable court acquitted him of that dangerous imputation, on his proving that he had never been initiated. The famous Euhemerus, who assumed the same office of hierophant to the people at large, with more boldness than Socrates, and more temperance than Epicurus, employed another expedient to screen himself from the laws, though he fell, and perhaps deservedly, under the same imputation of *atheism*. He gave a fabulous relation of a voyage to the imaginary island of Panchæa[r], a kind of ancient Utopia; where, in a temple of Jupiter, he found a genealogical record, which discovered to him the births and deaths of the greater Gods; and, in short, every thing that the hierophant revealed to the initiated on this subject. Thus he too avoided the suspicion of a *betrayer of the mysteries*. A character infamous in social life. And to this the Son of Sirac alludes, where he speaks of this species of infidelity in general[s]—"Whoso discovereth SECRETS, [μυσήρια] "loseth his credit, and shall never find friend to "his mind." This, therefore, is the reason why so little is to be met with, concerning the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ. Varro and Cicero, the two most inquisitive persons in antiquity, affording but a glimmering light. The *first* giving us a short account of the *cause* only of the SECRET, without mentioning the *doctrine*; and the *other*, a hint of the *doctrine*, without mentioning the *cause*.

But now a remarkable exception to all we have been saying, concerning the *secrecy* of the *mysteries*, obtrudes itself upon us, in the case of the CRETANS; who, as Diodorus Siculus assures us, celebrated their *mysteries* OPENLY, and taught their

[r] Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

[s] ὁ ἀποκαλυπτῶν ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἀπωλέσε πίστιν, καὶ ἐ μὴ εὕρῃ φίλον σχὴ τ ψυχὴν αὐτ. Cap. xxvii. ῥ 16.

ἀπόῤῥητα

ἀπόῤῥητα without reserve. His words are these: "At Cnossus in Crete, it was provided for, by an "ancient law, that these Mysteries should be "shewn openly to all: and that those things, which "in other places were delivered in secret, should "be hid from none who were desirous of know-"ing them[v]." But, as contrary as this seems to the principles delivered above, it will be found, on attentive reflection, altogether to confirm them. We have shewn, that the *great secret* was the detection of polytheism; which was done by teaching the original of the Gods; their birth from mortals; and their advancement to divine honour, for benefits done to their country, or mankind. But it is to be observed, that the Cretans proclaimed this to all the world, by shewing, and boasting of the tomb of Jupiter himself, the *Father of Gods and Men.* How then could they tell that as a secret in their *mysteries*, which they told to every one out of them? Nor is it less remarkable that the Cretans themselves, as Diodorus, in the same place, tells us, gave this very circumstance of their celebrating the *mysteries openly* as a proof of their being the first who had consecrated dead mortals. "These are the old stories which "the Cretans tell of their Gods, who, they pre-"tend to say, were born amongst them. And "they urge this as an invincible reason to prove "that the adoration, the worship, and the MYSTE-"RIES of these Gods were first derived from "Crete to the rest of the world, for, where-"as, amongst the Athenians, those most illustri-"ous *mysteries* of all, called the *Eleusinian*, those

[v] Καλὰ ἡ τ Κρήτλω ἐν Κνωσσῷ νόμιμον ἐξ ἀρχαίων τῇ φανερῶς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι ἀποδιδόδαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δεδρασόμενα, παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδένα κρύπτειν τῶν βουλομένων τὰ τοιαῦτα γινώσκειν. *Biblioth.* lib. v.

" of *Samothrace*, and thoſe of the Ciconians in " Thrace, of Orpheus's inſtitution, are all cele- " brated in SECRET: yet in Crete [w] " — and ſo on as above. For it ſeems the Cretans were proud of their invention; and uſed this method to proclaim and perpetuate the notice of it. So when Pythagoras, as Porphyry [x] informs us, had been initiated into the *Cretan myſteries*, and had continued in the *Idean* cave three times nine days, he wrote this epigram on the tomb of Jupiter,

Ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν·

Zan, whom men call Jupiter, lies here deceaſed.

It was this which ſo much exaſperated the other Grecians againſt them; and gave birth to the common proverb of ΚΡΗΤΕΣ ΑΕΙ ΨΕΥΣΤΑΙ [y], *The Cretans are eternal liars.* For nothing could more affront theſe ſuperſtitious idolaters than aſſerting the fact, or more diſpleaſe the politic protectors of the myſteries than the divulging it.

The MYSTERIES then being of ſo great ſervice to the ſtate, we ſhall not be ſurprized to hear the wiſeſt of the ancients ſpeaking highly in their commendation; and their beſt lawgivers, and reformers, providing carefully for their ſup-

[w] Περὶ μὲν ἓν τῶν Θεῶν οἱ Κρῆτες τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένων γεγενῆσθαι τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι· τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ τὰς περὶ τὰ μυστήρια τελετὰς ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀνθρώπους παραδεδόσθαι λέγοντες, τοῦτο φέρουσιν, ὡς οἶμαι, μέγιστον τεκμήριον· τήνδε γὰρ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένην τελετὴν, ὁπόσαν ἐστὶν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἐκ Κρήτης εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐλθεῖν. Diod. Sic. lib. v.

[x] *De vita Pythag.* n. xvii.

[y] Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο
Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο. Callim. *Hymn. in Jovem.*

And Nonnus;

Οὐ γὰρ ἀεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ΨΕΥΔΗΜΟΝΙ ΤΥΜΒΩι,
Τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπῆες. *Dionyſ.* lib. viii.

And Lucan;

Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis.
lib. viii.

port.

port. "Ceres (ſays Iſocrates) hath made the "Athenians two preſents of the greateſt conſe- "quence: corn, which brought us out of a ſtate "of brutality; and the MYSTERIES, which teach "the initiated to entertain the moſt agreeable ex- "pectations touching death and eternity [z]." And Plato introduceth Socrates ſpeaking after this manner: "In my opinion, thoſe who eſtabliſhed the "myſteries, whoever they were, were well ſkill- "ed in human nature. For in theſe rites it was "of old ſignified to the aſpirants, that thoſe who "died without being initiated, ſtuck faſt in mire "and filth: but that he who was purified and in- "itiated at his death ſhould have his habitation "with the Gods [a]." And Tully thought them of ſuch uſe to ſociety, for preſerving and propagating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, that in the law where he forbids nocturnal ſacrifices offered by women, he makes an expreſs exception for the Myſteries of Ceres, as well as for the ſacrifices to the *good Goddeſs*. "Nocturna mulierum ſacrificia ne ſunto, præter "olla, quæ pro populo rite fiant. Neve quem "initianto, niſi, ut aſſolet, Cereri, Græco ſacro." Which law he thus comments: — "*M.* But now, "Titus, as to what follows, I would fain know "how you can give your aſſent, or I blame you "for with-holding it? *A.* What is that, I pray "you? *M.* The law concerning the nocturnal "ſacrifices of women. *A.* I aſſent to it, eſpe-

[z] Δήμητρος — δύσης δωρεὰς διτὰς, αἵπερ μίγισαι τυγχάνουσιν ὔσαι τῆς τε καρπῆς οἱ τὸ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμᾶς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι· καὶ τὰ τελεῖν, ἧς οἱ μεθέχοντες περί τε τὸν βίον τελευτῆς, καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα αἰῶνα ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. *Panegyr.*

[a] Καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελετὰς ἡμῖν ἔτοι καταστήσαντες, ἀ φαῦλοί τινες ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι πάλαι αἰνίττεσθαι, ὅτι ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος, εἰς ἅδου ἀφίκηται, ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται· ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος, ἐκεῖσε ἀφικόμενος, μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει. In *Phædone.*

"cially

" cially as there is an expreſs exception to the " public and ſolemn ſacrifice. *M.* What then will " become of our *Eleuſinian* rites, thoſe reverend " and auguſt myſteries; if, indeed, we take away " nocturnal celebrations? *For our laws are calcu-* " *lated, not only for the Roman, but for all juſt and* " *well eſtabliſhed policies.* *A.* I think you except " thoſe, into which we ourſelves have been in- " itiated. *M.* Doubtleſs I do: for as, in my opi- " nion, your Athens hath produced many excel- " lent and even divine inventions, and applied " them to the uſe of life; ſo has ſhe given nothing " better than thoſe myſteries, by which we are " drawn from an irrational and ſavage life, and " tamed, as it were, and broken to humanity. " They are truly called INITIA, for they are in- " deed the beginnings of a life of reaſon and vir- " tue. From whence we not only receive the be- " nefits of a more comfortable and elegant ſub- " ſiſtence here, but are taught to *hope for, and* " *and aſpire to a better life hereafter.* But what " it is that diſpleaſes me in nocturnal rites, the co- " mic poets will ſhew you[b]. Which liberty of " celebration, had it been permitted at Rome,

[b] The common reading, in which all the mſs. agree, is, *Quid mihi diſpliceat,* INNOCENTES *poetæ indicant comici.* Victorius conjectured, that, inſtead of *innocentes,* Tully wrote IN NOCTURNIS, which appears to be right. By the *poetæ comici,* I ſuppoſe Cicero meant the writers of the *new comedy.* The abuſes he hints at, as perpetrated in the myſteries, were of a libidinous kind: which occaſioned an intrigue proper for the *new comedy.* And we may ſee by Fabricius's *Notitia comicorum deperditorum, Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22. how frequently the writers of the *new comedy* laid the ſcene of their plots in a religious feſtival or *myſtery.* Plautus, who copied from them, in his prologue to the *Aulularia,* opens the ſubject of it in theſe words,

——— Senex
Is adoleſcentis illius eſt avunculus,
Qui eam ſtupravit noctu Cereris vigiliis.

" what

" what wickedness would not he have attempted [c], " who came with a premeditated purpose of in- " dulging his lust, to a sacrifice where even the mis- " behaviour [d] of the eye was deeply criminal [e]? "

[c] By *ille*, is here meant P. Clodius, the mortal enemy of Cicero. So that his reasoning seems to stand thus — " I allow " an exception for the Eleusinian mysteries, on account of " their great use to civil life. But yet their celebration in the " night is attended with strange inconveniencies, as appears " from the comic poets. And had this liberty of celebrating " nocturnal rites by men and women promiscuously, as in the " Eleusinian mysteries, been practised in Rome, what enor- " mities must we believe such a one as Clodius would have " committed, who contrived to violate the nocturnal rites of " the Good Goddess, to which only women were admitted?" For that the Grecian *mysteries* were thus promiscuously celebrated, appears from what Dionysius Hal. observes of the purity of the early Roman worship; where no nocturnal vigil (says he) was kept promiscuously by men and women, in the celebration of their *mysteries*. — ὁ Δ[ιο]παννυχισμὸς ἐν ἱεροῖς θεῶν, ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν —

[d] The ancients esteemed *that* to be the greatest misbehaviour of the eye, where the sight of *men* obtruded, though only by accident, upon those *mysteries*, which it was only lawful for *women* to behold.

[e] *M.* At vero, quod sequitur, quomodo aut tu assentiare, aut ego reprehendam, sane quæro, Tite. *A.* Quid tandem id est? *M.* De nocturnis sacrificiis mulierum. *A.* Ego vero assentior, excepto præsertim in ipsa lege solemni sacrificio ac publico. *M.* Quid ergo aget Iacchus Eumolpidæque nostri, & augusta illa mysteria, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus? non enim populo Romano, sed omnibus bonis firmisque populis leges damus. *A.* Excipis, credo, illa, quibus ipsi initiati sumus. *M.* Ego vero excipiam. Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vita hominum attulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem, & mitigati sumus; initiaque, ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus; neque solum cum lætitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. Quid autem mihi displiceat IN NOCTURNIS, Poëtæ indicant Comici. Qua licentia Romæ data, quidnam egisset ille, qui in sacrificium cogitatam libidinem intulit, quo ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas fuit? *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 14.

We

We have seen, that the other exception to this law against nocturnal sacrifices, was in favour of the rites performed to the *good Goddess*, called *the public and solemn sacrifice*. This was offered *pro populo*, for the safety of the people. So that Cicero, ranking the *Eleusinian* with these rites, appears to have thought them in the number of such as were celebrated for the public safety. Solon, the famous lawgiver of Athens, long before him, had the same high opinion of these *mysteries*, as is seen by the care he took of their regulation; and so had Prætexatus, a most accomplished roman magistrate, long after him: for when his master, Valentinian, had divided the empire with his brother, and projected a general reform of the laws, and, amongst the rest, had forbid *nocturnal sacrifices*; he was persuaded by Prætextatus, who governed for him in Greece, to make an exception for the *mysteries of Ceres*; which had been brought to Rome very early[f], and incorporated into the national worship[g], and regulated anew by the wise emperor Hadrian[h].

Zosimus tells the story in this manner: "The "supreme power being thus divided, Valentinian "entered on his new command with a more serious "attention to his office. He reformed the magi- "stracy, he regulated the revenue, and, by a ri- "gid exaction of the duties, secured the pay of "the soldiery, which arose out of that fund: and "having determined likewise to new model and

[f] As appears by Tully's Oration for Corn. Balbus, and by a passage in his second book, cap. 24. *Of the nature of the Gods*, quoted above; and likewise from Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 33. *Antiq.* Ἱδρύσαλο δὲ κ) Δήμητρ☉ ἱερὸν, κ) τὰς θυσίας αὐτῇ ἀφ' γυναικῶν τε κ) νηφαλίης ἔθυσαν, ὡς Ἕλλησι νόμ☉, ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἤλλαξε χρόν☉.

[g] Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* cap. 93.

[h] Aurel. Victor. in *Hadr.*

"promulge

" promulge the imperial inſtitutes, *beginning*, as " they ſay, *from the foundation*, he forbad the ce- " lebration of all *nocturnal* rites and ſacrifices; with " deſign to obviate the enormities which the op- " portunity of theſe ſeaſons gave birth to, and en- " flamed. But when Prætextatus, a man adorn- " ed with every virtue of public aud private life, " who then governed Greece in quality of procon- " ſul, had given him to underſtand that this law " would occaſion great diſorders in Greece, and " even throw the inhabitants into deſpair, when " they ſhould find that they were forbidden to ce- " lebrate, according to ancient cuſtom, thoſe moſt " holy *myſteries*, which had now taken in the whole " race of mankind, he gave permiſſion to a ſuſ- " penſion of his law, with regard to theſe; on " condition, however, that every thing ſhould be " reduced to the primitive purity and ſimplicity [i]."
Thus the *Eleuſinian* myſteries got a reprieve, till the reign of Theodoſius the elder, when they were totally aboliſhed. The terms Prætextatus uſed to ſhew the ill conſequence of the ſuppreſſion, are very remarkable: he ſaid, the Greeks would, from thenceforth, lead ΑΒΙΩΤΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ, *a comfortleſs lifeleſs life*. But this could not be ſaid, with any truth, or propriety, of the taking away a mere religious rite, how venerable ſoever it was become

[i] Τῆς τοίνυν ἀρχῆς ἔτω ἀιρεθείσης ὁ Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐμβριθέστερον τῇ ἀρχῇ προσελθὼν, ἄρχοντας τε ἐν κόσμῳ προῆγε, καὶ ὡσὶ τὰς εἰσπράξεις τῶν εἰσφορῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τέτων χορηγημένας τραπιωτικὰς σιτήσεις, ἀνεβεβαίωτο· ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νόμων εἰσφορὰς ἐγνώκει ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ἑτέρας ὥσπερ ἀρξάμενος, τας νυκτερινὰς ἐκώλυε θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τοῖ. μυσαρῶς μὲν ἂν πρατομένοις ἐμποδὼν ἀλλὰ τῷ τοιῷδε νόμῳ ἡγεῖσθαι βεβούλητο· ἐπεὶ δὲ Πραιλέξτατος, ὁ τ' Ἑλλάδος τὸ ἀνθύπατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσαις ἀλαπρέπων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, τὸν ἔφη τὸ νόμον ΑΒΙΩΤΟΝ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καταστήσειν τὸ ΒΙΟΝ, εἰ μέλλοιεν κωλύεσθαι τὰ συνέχοντα τὸ ἀνθρώπειον ἡμῶς ἁγιώτατα μυστήρια καὶ θεσμῶν ἐκλελεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀργῆντος τῷ νόμῳ· πράτλεσθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάτρια. Lib. iv. *Hiſt. Novæ.*

by

by its antiquity. To apprehend the force of the expreſſion, we muſt have in mind what has been ſaid of the doctrines taught in thoſe rites, namely, a *providence*, and a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*, on whoſe ſole account the rites were inſtituted. Now theſe doctrines being in themſelves of the moſt engaging nature, taught here in the moſt intereſting manner, and receiving from hence their chief ſupport, it was no wonder that the Greeks ſhould eſteem the abolition of the *myſteries* as the greateſt evil: the life of man being, indeed, without the comfort and ſupport of theſe doctrines, no better than a *living death:* hence it was, that the ſage Iſocrates called the myſteries, *the thing human nature principally ſtands in need of* [k]. And that Ariſtides ſaid, *the welfare of Greece was ſecured by the Eleuſinian myſteries alone* [l]. Indeed the Greeks ſeemed to place their chief happineſs in them: ſo Euripides makes Hercules ſay [m], *I was bleſt, when I got a ſight of the myſteries:* and it was a proverbial ſpeech, when any one thought himſelf in the higheſt degree happy, to ſay, *I ſeem as if I had been initiated in the higher myſteries* [n].

1. But now, ſuch is the fate of human things, Theſe myſteries, venerable as they were, in their firſt inſtitution, did, it muſt be owned, in courſe of time degenerate; and thoſe very proviſions made by the ſtate, to enable the myſteries to obtain the end of their eſtabliſhment, became the very means of defeating it. For we can aſſign no ſurer *cauſe* of the horrid abuſes and corruptions of the myſteries (beſides time, which naturally and fatally depraves and vitiates all things) than the SEASON in which

[k] Οὗ πρῶτον ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη. *Panegyr.*
[l] μύνοις Ἐλευσινίοις ὑγίαινεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. *Eleuſ.*
[m] Τὰ μυσῶν δ' ὄρφ' οὐτύχησ' ἰδών. *Herc. furens,* ℣ 613.
[n] Ἐπιπλήγειν μοι δοκῶ.

they

they were represented; and the profound SILENCE in which they were buried. For *night* gave opportunity to wicked men to attempt evil actions; and *secrecy*, encouragement to repeat them; and the inviolable nature of that secrecy, which encouraged abuses, kept them from the magistrate's knowledge so long, till it was too late to reform them. In a word, we must own, that these mysteries, so powerful in their first institution for the promotion of *virtue* and *knowledge*[o], became, in time, horribly subservient to the gratification of *lust* and *revenge*[p]. Nor will this appear at all strange after what hath been said above. A like corruption, from the same cause, crept even into the church, during the purest ages of it. The primitive christians, in imitation, perhaps, of these pagan rites, or from the same kind of spirit, had a custom of celebrating vigils in the night; which, at first, were performed with all becoming sanctity: but, in a little time, they were so over-run with abuses, that it was necessary to abolish them. The account Bellarmine gives of the matter, is this: "Quoniam occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum abusus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potius flagitia non raro committi, placuit ecclesiæ nocturnos conventus & vigilias proprie dictas intermittere, ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare jejunia[q]." And the same remedy, Cicero[r] tells

[o] — Τὰ μυστήρια — ὅτι ὑπὸ παιδείας κ᾽ ἐπανορθώσεως τῦ βίυ καλεσάθη πάνλα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν.

[p] Ἡ γὰρ τεκνοφόνες ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ, ἢ ΚΡΥΦΙΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἢ ἐμμανεῖς ὄξ ἄλλων θεσμῶν κόμες ἀγονίες, Οὔτε βίες ἔτε γάμες καθαρὲς ἔτι φυλάοτεσιν, ἕτερ☉ δ᾽ ἕτερον ἢ ΛΟΚΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΙ, ἢ ΝΟΘΕΥΩΝ ΟΔΥΝΑ. *Wisdom of Sol.* xiv. 23, 24.

[q] *De Eccl. Triumph.* lib. iii. cap. ult.

[r] — Atque omnia nocturna, ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

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us, Diagondas the Theban was forced to apply to the disorders of the mysteries.

2. However, this was not the only, though the most powerful cause of the depravation of the mysteries. Another doubtless was their being sometimes under the patronage of those deities, who were supposed to inspire and preside over sensual passions, such as Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid; for, these had all their *Mysteries:* and where was the wonder, if the *initiated* should be sometimes inclined to give a loose to those vices, in which the patron God was supposed to delight? And in this case, the hidden doctrine came too late to put a stop to the disorder. However, it is remarkable, and confirms what hath been said concerning the origin of the Mysteries, and of their being invented to perpetuate the doctrine of a future state, that the doctrine continued to be taught even in the most debauched celebrations of the Mysteries of Cupid [f] and Bacchus [t]. Nay, even that very flagitious part of the mysterious rites when at worst, *the carrying the* ΚΤΕΙΣ *and* ΦΑΛΛΟΣ *in procession*, was introduced but under pretence of their being *emblems* [v] of the mystical regeneration and new

[f] Ἀγαθὸν μὲν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τελεῖσθαι μέλλοντας, ἐγὼ δ' ὅσῳ τοῖς ΕΡΩΤΟΣ ὀργιασταῖς καὶ μύσταις ἐν ἅπασι βέλτιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι. Plutarchus Ἐρωτικῷ.

[t] Κέλσῳ — οἰκεῖαί γε ἐπὶ θάμβει τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, ἐχὶ δὲ ταληθῆ περὶ κολάσεων λέγοντας ἀναγκαίων τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι· διόπερ ἐξομοῖοι ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ΒΑΚΧΙΚΑΙΣ τελεταῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ δείματα προεισαγουσι. Orig *contra Celsum*, lib iv. p. 167. Sp.

[v] Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τελεταὶ, καὶ τὰ ὄργια, τὰ τύπων εἶχεν ΑΙΝΙΓΜΑΤΑ. τὴν κλῆσιν μὲν ἡ Ἐλευσὶς, ἡ Φαλλαγωγία δὲ τὸν φαλλόν. Theodoret. *Therapeut.* lib i. Here the father uses the word αἰνίγματα ironically, and in derision of the pagans, who pretended, that these processions were mystical, symbolical, and enigmatical; otherwise he had used the word improperly; for the κλεὶς and Φαλλὸς could never be the αἰνίγματα of the pollutions committed by them: αἴνιγμα signifying the obscure imitation of a thing re-

life,

life, into which the Initiated had engaged themſelves to enter.

3. The laſt *cauſe* to which one may aſcribe their corruption, was the Hierophant's withdrawing the Myſteries from the care and inſpection of the civil Magiſtrate; whoſe original inſtitution they were: and, therefore, in the purer ages of Greece, the deputies of the States preſided in them: and, ſo long, they were ſafe from notorious abuſes. But in after-times it would happen, that a little prieſt, who had borne an inferior ſhare in theſe rites, would leave his ſociety and country, and ſet up for himſelf; and in a clandeſtine manner, without the allowance or knowledge of the magiſtrate, inſtitute and celebrate the Myſteries in private conventicles. From rites ſo managed, it is eaſy to believe, many enormities would ariſe. This was the original of thoſe horrid impieties committed in the Myſteries of Bacchus at Rome; of which the hiſtorian Livy has given ſo circumſtantial an account: for, in the beginning of his ſtory, he tells us, the miſchief was occaſioned by one of theſe prieſt's bringing the Myſteries into Etruria, on his own head, uncommiſſioned by his ſuperiors in Greece, from whom he learnt them; and unauthorized by the State, into which he had introduced them. The words of Livy ſhew that the Myſteries were, in their own na-

preſented by a *different* image.—So Tertullian againſt the Valentinians ſays, "Virile membrum totum eſſe MYSTERIUM." Jamblichus gives another reaſon for theſe things: ὁρῶ τοῦτο ἔν τε κωμῳδίαις καὶ τραγῳδίαις ἀλλοτρίαις παθῶν θεωρουμένας, ἰσχυρὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη καὶ μειλιώτερα ἀπεργαζόμεθα, καὶ ἀπαναθαίρομεν ἐν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς, θεάμασι τισὶ καὶ ἀκούσμασι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, ἀπὸ νόμου θέντος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀπ' αὐτῶν συμπιπτούσης βλάβης. *De myſteriis*, § i. cap. 11. However, in common life, *figuram pudendi virilis ad faſcini omne genus expugnandum multum valere credirent.* A ſuperſtition, which, without doubt, aroſe from its *enigmatic* ſtation in the *myſteries*.

ture, a very different affair; and invented for the improvement of knowledge and virtue. "A Greek "of mean extraction (ſays he[w]) a little prieſt and "ſoothſayer, came firſt into Etruria, WITHOUT "ANY SKILL OR WISDOM IN MYSTERIOUS "RITES, MANY SORTS OF WHICH, THAT MOST "IMPROVED PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT IN A-"MONGST US, FOR THE CULTURE AND PER-"FECTION BOTH OF MIND AND BODY[x]. It is farther obſervable, that this prieſt brought the Myſteries pure with him out of Greece, and that they received their corruption in Italy; for, as Hiſpala tells the ſtory to the conſul, at firſt, WOMEN only celebrated the rites; till Paculla Minia Campana became prieſteſs; who, on a ſudden, as by order of the Gods, made a total alteration in the ceremonies, and initiated her SONS; which gave occaſion to all the debaucheries that followed[y]. The

[w] Græcus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit, NULLA CUM ARTE EARUM, QUAS MULTAS AD ANIMORUM CORPORUMQUE CULTUM NOBIS ERUDITISSIMA OMNIUM GENS INVEXIT, ſed ſacrificulus & vates. *Hiſt.* lib. xxxix.

[x] What Livy means by the *culture of the body*, will be ſeen hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the probationary and toilſome trials undergone by thoſe *aſpirants* to the myſteries, called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRAS.

[y] Hiſpala's confeſſion will fully inſtruct the reader in the nature and degree of theſe corruptions. — "Tum Hiſpala ori-"ginem ſacrorum expromit. Primo ſacrarium id fœminarum "fuiſſe, nec quemquam virum eo admitti ſolitum. — Pacullam "ſacerdotem omnia, tanquam Deûm monitis, immutaſſe: nam "& viros eam primam ſuos filios initiaſſe; & nocturnum ſa-"crum ex diurno, & pro tribus in anno diebus quinos ſingulis "menſibus dies initiorum feciſſe. Ex quo in promiſcuo ſacra "ſint, & permiſti viri fœminis, & noctis licentia acceſſerit; ni-"hil ibi ſacinoris, nihil flagitii prætermiſſum; plura virorum "inter ſeſe, quam fœminarum eſſe ſtupra. Si qui minus pati-"entes dedecoris ſint, & pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis im-"molari: nihil nefas ducere. Hanc ſummam inter eos reli-"gionem eſſe; viros velut mente capta cum jactatione fana-"tica corporis vaticinari. — Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos

conſequence

conſequence of this diſcovery was the abolition of the rites of Bacchus throughout Italy, by a decree of the ſenate.

However, it is very true, that in Greece itſelf the Myſteries became abominably abuſed [z]: a proof of which we have even in the conduct of their comic writers, who frequently lay the ſcene of their ſubject, ſuch as the rape of a young girl, and the like, at the celebration of a religious myſtery; and from that myſtery denominate the comedy [a]. And in the time of Cicero, the terms, *myſteries* and *abominations* were almoſt ſynonymous. The *Academic* having ſaid they had ſecrets and *myſteries*, Lucullus replies, "Quæ ſunt tandem iſta MYSTERIA? "aut cur celatis, quaſi TURPE aliquid, veſtram "ſententiam [b]?" However, in ſpite of all occaſions and opportunities, ſome of the Myſteries, as particularly the ELEUSINIAN, continued, for many ages, pure and undefiled. The two capital corruptions of the myſteries were MAGIC and IMPURITIES. Yet, ſo late as the age of Apollonius Tyan: the *Eleuſinian* kept ſo clear of the firſt imputation, that the hierophant refuſed to initiate that impoſtor, becauſe he was a magician [c]. And, indeed, their long-continued immunity, both from one and the other corruption, will not appear extra-

" machinæ illigatos ex conſpectu in abditos ſpecus abripiant;
" eos eſſe, qui aut conjurare, aut ſociari facinoribus, aut ſtu-
" prum pati noluerint Multitudinem ingentem, alterum jam
" prope populum eſſe: in his nobiles quoſdam viros, fœminas-
" que. Biennio proximo inſtitutum eſſe, ne quis major viginti
" annis initiaretur; captari ætatis & erroris & ſtupri patientes."

[z] See Clemens Alexandrinus, in his *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

[a] See Fabricius's *Notitia comicorum deperditorum*, in his firſt vol. of the *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

[b] *Acad. quæſt.* lib. i.

[c] Ὁ δὲ Ἱεροφάντης ἐκ ἐβούλετο παρέχειν τὰ ἱερὰ, μὴ γὰρ ἂν τελε-
μύησαι γόητα, μὴ δὲ τὸ Ἐλευσῖνα ἀνοίξαι ἀνίερωτῳ μὴ καθαρῷ τὰ
δαιμόνια. *Philoſt.* lib. iv. cap. 18.

ordinary, if we conſider, that, by a law of Solon, the ſenate was always to meet the day after the celebration of theſe myſteries, to ſee that nothing had been done amiſs during the performance[d]. So that theſe were the very laſt that ſubmitted to the common fate of all human inſtitutions[e].

[d] ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ ἐκεῖ καθεδεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κελεύει, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, τῶν μυστηρίων ἔδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. Andoc. *Orat.*

[e] This ſhort hiſtorical deduction of the riſe and fall of the *myſteries* will afford much light to the following paſſage of St. Paul, ſpeaking of the *leaders* and *inſtructors* of the gentile world, — "So that they are without excuſe: becauſe that "*when they knew God, they glorified him not as God*, neither "were thankful; but became *vain in their imaginations*, and "their fooliſh heart was darkened. Profeſſing themſelves to "be wiſe, they became fools: and *changed the glory of the* "*uncorruptible God into anto an image made like to corruptible* "*man, and to birds and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.* "Wherefore God gave them up to *uncleanneſs*, through the "luſts of their own hearts, to diſhonour their own bodies be-"tween themſelves. Who changed the *truth of God into a* "*lie*, and worſhiped and *ſerved the creature more than the* "*creator*, who is bleſſed for ever, amen. For this cauſe God "gave them up *unto vile affections*," &c. *Rom.* i. 20, & *ſeq.* In theſe words, the holy apoſtle evidently condemns the fooliſh policy of the gentile ſages, who, *when they knew God* (that is, diſcovered God, as Paul intimates, by the light of nature) yet *glorified him not as God*, by preaching him up to the people; but, carried away, in the *vanity of their imagination*, by a miſtaken principle of politics, that a vulgar knowledge of him would be injurious to ſociety, ſhut up his *glory* in their MYSTERIES, and gave the people, in exchange for an *uncorruptible God, an image made like to corruptible man and birds*, &c. Wherefore God, in puniſhment for their thus *turning his truth into a lie*, ſuffered even their *myſteries*, which they erected (though on theſe wrong principles) for a ſchool of virtue, to degenerate into an odious ſink of vice and immorality; *giving them up unto all uncleanneſs and vile affections.* That this was the apoſtle's meaning, appears not only from the general tenor of the paſſage, but from ſeveral particular expreſſions; as where he ſpeaks of *changing the glory of God to birds, beaſts, and creeping things*: for this was the peculiar

It

It is true, if uncertain report was to be believed, the myſteries were corrupted very early: for Orpheus himſelf is ſaid to have abuſed them [f]. But this was an art the debauched *Myſtæ* of later times employed to varniſh their enormities; as the deteſtable Pæderaſts of after-ages ſcandalized the blameleſs Socrates. Beſides, the ſtory is ſo ill laid, that it is detected by the ſureſt records of antiquity: for, in conſequence of what they fabled was committed by Orpheus in the Myſteries, they pretended, that he was torn to pieces by the women: whereas it appeared from the inſcription on his monument at Dium in Macedonia, that he was ſtruck dead with lightening, the envied death of the reputed favourites of the Gods [g].

And here the FATHERS will hardly eſcape the cenſure of thoſe who will not allow high provocation to be an excuſe for an unfair repeſentation of an adverſary. I ſay, they will hardly eſcape cenſure, for accuſtoming themſelves to ſpeak of the Myſteries as groſs impieties and immoralities, in their very original [h]. Clemens Alexandrinus, in

ſuperſtition of Egypt: and Egypt we have ſhewn to be the firſt inventreſs of the *myſteries*. Again, he ſays, *they worſhiped and ſerved the creature more than the creator*, παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα. This was ſtrictly true with regard to the MYSTERIES: the CREATOR was there acknowledged by a ſmall and ſelect number of the participants; but the general and ſolemn worſhip in theſe celebrations was to their national idols. In the OPEN worſhip of paganiſm, either *public* or *particular*, it was not at all true, for there the CREATURE was the ſole object of adoration.

[f] See Diog. Laert. *Proœmium*, *Segm.* 5.

[g] Idem, ibid.

[h] What hath been ſaid above, ſhews that M. Le Clerc hath gone into the other extreme, when he contends (*Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 73.) that the myſteries were not corrupted at all. I can conceive no reaſon for his paradox, but as it favoured an accuſation againſt the *fathers*, who have much in-

a heat of zeal, breaks out, " Let him be accurſed, " who firſt infected the world with theſe impo- " ſtures, whether it was Dardanus — or — *&c.* " Theſe I make no ſcruple to call wicked authors " of impious fables; the fathers of an execrable " ſuperſtition, who, by this inſtitution, ſowed in " human life the ſeeds of vice and corruption [i]." But the wiſeſt and beſt of the pagan world invariably hold, that the Myſteries were inſtituted pure; and propoſed the nobleſt end, by the worthieſt means. And though the expreſs teſtimony of theſe writers, ſupported by the reaſon of the thing, ſhould be deemed inſufficient, yet the character and quality of their Inſtitutor muſt put the matter out of all doubt. This Inſtitutor, as will be ſeen preſently, was no other than the lawgiver, or CIVIL MAGISTRATE himſelf. Wherever the Myſteries found public admittance, it was through his introduction; and as oft as ever they were celebrated, it was under his inſpection. Now virtue is as eſſential to the preſervation, and vice to the deſtruction of the ſociety, over which he preſides, as obedience and diſobedience are to his office and authority. So that to conceive him as diſpoſed to bring in, and to encourage, immoral practices under the maſk of religion, is the ſame thing as to

fiſted on the corruption of them — " Les peres ont dit qu'on " commettoit toute ſorte d'ordures dans ces céremonies: mais " quoi qu'ils diſent, il n'eſt pas croiable que toute la Greece, " quelque corrompuë qu'elle ait été, ait jamais conſenti que " les filles & les femmes ſe proſtituaſſent dans les myſteres — " Mais quelques auteurs chrétiens n'ont fait aucune difficulté de " dire mille choſes peu conformes à la verité, pour diffamer " le paganiſme: de peur qu'il n'y eût que les payens à qui on " pût reprocher leurs calomnies. *Bibl. Univ.* tom vi. p. 120.

[i] Ὅλλοιλο ἓν ὁ τῆσδε ἄρξας ἀπάντης ἀνθρώποις· εἴτε ὁ Δαρδανὸς — εἴτε — τούτους ἐγώγ' ἂν ἀρχικακοὺς φήσαιμι μύθων ἀθέων, καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ὀλιθρίου πολίαρχος, σπέρμα κακιας καὶ φθορᾶς ἐγκαλαφιλεύσαντας τῷ βίῳ τὰ μυστήρια. *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

ſuſpect

ſuſpect the phyſician of mixing poiſons with his alexipharmax.

The truth of the matter was this: the Fathers bore a ſecret grudge to the Myſteries for their injurious treatment of chriſtianity on its firſt appearance in the world. We are to obſerve, that Atheiſm, by which was meant a contempt of the Gods, was reckoned, in the Myſteries, amongſt the greateſt crimes. So, in the ſixth book of the *Æneis* (of which more hereafter) the hotteſt ſeats in Tartarus are allotted to the atheiſt, ſuch as Salmoneus, Tityus, and the Titans, &c. Now the chriſtians, for their contempt of the national Gods, were, on their firſt appearance, deemed atheiſts by the people; and ſo branded by the Myſtagogue, as we find in Lucian [k], and expoſed amongſt the reſt in Tartarus, in their ſolemn ſhews and repreſentations. This may be gathered from a remarkable paſſage in Origen, where Celſus thus addreſſes his adverſary: "But now, as "you, good man, believe eternal puniſhments, "even ſo do the interpreters of theſe holy myſte- "ries, the myſtagogues and initiators: you threaten "others with them; THESE, on the contrary, "THREATEN YOU [l]."

[k] Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ [τῆ τελεθῆς ἡμέρᾳ] περίεργος ἦν, ὥσπερ Ἀθωνσι, τοιαύτη· εἴ τις ἄθεος, ἢ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ἢ Ἐπικούρειος, ἢκε καλάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, ψευγέτω — *Pſeudomantis.*

[l] Μαλιστα μὲν, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολάσεις αἰωνίους νομίζεις· ὕτω καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ὑξηγηταὶ τελεσταί τε καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ· ἃς σὺ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπειλεῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ σοί. lib. viii. This explains a paſſage in Jerom's catalogue of eccleſiaſtical writers; and will be explained by it. The father ſpeaking of Quadratus, ſays; "Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegiſſet hiemem inviſens Eleu- "ſinem, & omnibus pene Græciæ ſacris initiatus, dediſſet oc- "caſionem iis, qui Chriſtianos oderunt, absque præcepto Im- "peratoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religione "noſtra." Now what *occaſion* was afforded here to the enemies of chriſtianity, but only this, That, the Grecian myſteries repreſenting the faithful in an odious light, the emperor

This, without doubt, was what ſharpened the Fathers againſt the Myſteries; and they were not always tender in loading what they did not approve. But here comes in the ſtrange part of the ſtory; that, after this, they ſhould ſo ſtudiouſly and formally tranſfer the terms, phraſes, rites, ceremonies, and diſcipline of theſe *odious myſteries* into our holy religion; and, thereby, very early vitiate and deprave, what a pagan writer [m] could ſee, and acknowledge to be ABSOLUTA & SIMPLEX, as it came out of the hands of its author. Sure then it was ſome more than ordinary veneration the people had for theſe Myſteries, that could incline the Fathers of the church to ſo fatal a counſel: however, the thing is notorious [n], and the effects have been ſeverely felt.

(who but juſt then had been initiated into almoſt all of them) might be reaſonably thought eſtranged and indiſpoſed towards chriſtianity, and ſo the eaſier drawn to countenance, or connive at, any injuſtice done unto it?

[m] Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxi. cap. 16. *Hiſt.*

[n] The reader will not be diſpleaſed to find here an exact account of this whole matter, extracted from a very curious diſſertation of a great and unexceptionable writer, Is. Caſaubon, in his xvi^th *Exer.* on the *Annals* of Baronius. — "Pii patres quum "intelligerent, quo facilius ad veritatis amorem corruptas ſu"perſtitione mentes traducerent; & verba ſacrorum illorum "quam plurima, in ſuos uſus tranſtulerunt; & cum doctrinæ "veræ capita aliquot ſic tractarunt, tum ritus etiam nonnullos "ejusmodi inſtituerunt; ut videantur cum Paulo dicere genti"bus voluiſſe, ἃ ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε. ταυτα καταγγελλομεν ὑμῖν. "Hinc igitur eſt, quod ſacramenta patres appellarunt *myſteria*, "μυησεις, τελεταις, τελειωσεις, ἐποπτειας, ſive ἐποψειας, τελεσηρια; "interdum etiam ὄργια, ſed rarius: peculiariter vero euchariſtiam τελεῖων τελετήν. Dicitur etiam antonomatice τὸ μυστήριον, "aut numero multitudinis τὰ μυστηρια. Apud patres paſſim de "ſacra communione leges φριξὶ μυστήρια vel το ἀπρόῤῥητον μυστή"ριον; Gregorio Magno, *magnum & pavendum myſterium.* "Μυεῖσθαι in veterum monumentis ſæpe leges pro cœnæ dominicæ fieri particeps; μυησιν pro ipſa actione; μυστης eſt "ſacerdos, qui etiam dicitur ὁ μυσταγωγὸν & ὁ ἱεροτελεστής. In li-

We

We have all along supposed the *mysteries* an invention of the lawgiver: and, indeed, we have

" turgiis Græcis & alibi etiam ἡ ἱερὰ τελετὴ, & ἡ κρυφία καὶ ἐπί-
" φοβος τελετὴ, est eucharistia. Quemadmodum autem gradus
" quidem in mysteriis paganicis servati sunt, sic Dionysius uni-
" versam τῶν τελείων τὴν ἱερεργίαν, traditionem sacramento um di-
" stinguit in tres actiones, quæ & ritibus & temporibus erant
" divitæ: prima est καθαρσις, *purgatio*; altera μυησις. *initia-*
" *tio*; tertia, τελειωσις, *consummatio*; quam & ἐποψιαν (æpe no-
" minat. Spem meliorem morientibus attulisse mysteria Atti-
" ca dicebat paulo ante M. Tullius. Patres contra, certam
" salutem & vitam æternam Christi mysteria digne percipienti-
" bus afferre, confirmabant: qui illa contemnerent, servari non
" posse: finem vero & fructum ultimum sacramentorum θέωσιν,
" *deificationem*, dicere non dubitarunt; quum scirent vanarum
" superstitionum auctores, suis *epoptis* eum honorem audere
" spondere. Passim igitur legas apud Patres, τῆς ἱερᾶς μυ σω-
" γιας τέλος ἢ θέωσιν, finem sacramentorum esse, ut qui vera
" fide illa perciperent, in futura vita dii evadant. Athanasius
" verbo θεοποιεῖσθαι in eam rem est usus; quod mox ab eodem
" explicatur, *participatione spiritus conjungimur deitati.* De
" symbolis sacramentorum, per quæ divinæ illæ ceremoniæ ce-
" lebrantur, nihil attinet hoc loco dicere; illud vero. quod est
" & appellatur fidei symbolum, diversi est generis, & fidelibus
" tesseræ usum præstat, per quam se mutuo agnoscunt, qui pi-
" etati sacramento dixerunt; cujusmodi tesseras fuisse etiam in
" paganorum mysteriis ostendimus. Formulæ illi in mysteriis
" peragendis usurpatæ, *Procul este, profani*, respondet in liturgia
" hæc per diaconos pronuntiari solita; ὅσοι κατηχούμενοι προελ-
" θέτε; vel, ἔξω πρόκλειστε ὅσοι ἐνεργούμενοι. ὅσοι ἀμύητοι; *omnes*
" *catechumeni, foras discedite, omnes possessi, omnes non initiati.*
" Noctu ritus multi in mysteriis peragebantur; noctu etiam
" initiatio Christianorum inchoabatur; Gaudentio nominatur
" *splendidissima nox vigiliarum.* Quod autem dicebamus de si-
" lentio in sacris opertaneis servari a paginis so ito, id institu-
" tum veteres christiani sic probarunt, ut religiosa ejus obser-
" atione mystas omnes longe superarint. Quemadmodum igi-
" tur dicit Seneca, sanctiora sacrorum solis initiatis fuisse nota,
" & Jamblichus de Philosophia Pythagoreorum in τὰ χαρακτηρικὰ,
" quæ efferri non poterant, & τα ἐκφορα, quæ foras efferre jus
" erat; ita universam doctrinam christianam veteres disti gue-
" bant in τὰ ἐκφορα, id est, ea quæ enuntiari apud omnes po-
" terant, & τὰ ἀπορρητα arcana temere non vulganda; τὰ δὲ γ-
" μαλα, inquit Basilius, σιωπᾶται· τὰ δὲ κηρυγματα δημοσιού-

nothing

nothing to do with them, but in that view. Now though, from what hath been ſaid, the intelligent reader will collect we have not ſuppoſed amiſs, yet as the pertinency of the whole diſcourſe depends upon it, he may perhaps expect us to be a little more particular.

That the *myſteries* were invented, eſtabliſhed, and ſupported by LAWGIVERS, may be ſeen,

1. From the place of their original; which was EGYPT. This Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, who collect from ancient teſtimonies, expreſly affirm; and in this, all antiquity concurs; the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, particularly, retaining the very *Egyptian* Gods, in whoſe honour they were celebrated; Ceres and Triptolemus being only two

" ſlæ, *dogmata ſilentio premuntur*; *præconia publicantur*. Chry-
" ſoſtomus, de iis qui baptizantur pro mortuis; *Cupio quidem*
" *perſpicue rem dicere*; *ſed propter non initiatos non audeo: hi*
" *interpretationem reddunt nobis difficiliorem*; *dum nos cogunt, aut*
" *perſpicue non dicere, aut arcana, quæ taceri debent, apud ipſos*
" *efferre*. Atque ut ἐξορχεῖσθαι τὰ μυστήρια dixerunt pagani,
" de iis qui arcana myſteriorum evulgabant; ita dixit Diony-
" ſius, *Vide ne enunties, aut parum reverenter habeas ſancta*
" *ſanctorum*. Paſſim apud Auguſtinum leges, *Sacramentum*
" *quod norunt fidles*. In Johannem tract. xi. autem ſic; *Om-*
" *nes catechumeni jam credunt in nomine Chriſti*, SED JESUS
" NON SE CREDIT EIS. Mox *Interrogemus catechumenum*,
" *Manducas carnem filii hominis? neſcit quid dicimus*. Ite-
" rum, *Neſciunt catechumeni quid accipiant chriſtiani: erubeſcant*
" *ergo quia neſciunt*." We have obſerved above, that the Fathers gave very eaſy credit to what was reported of the abominations in the *myſteries*; and the eaſier, perhaps, on account of the *ſecrecy* with which they were celebrated. The ſame affectation of ſecrecy in the chriſtian rites, and the ſame language in ſpeaking of them, without doubt procured as eaſy credit to thoſe calumnies of murder and inceſt, charged upon them by the pagans. Nay, what is ſtill more remarkable, thoſe very ſpecific enormities in which their own myſteries were then known to offend, they objected to the chriſtians, " Alii
" eos [chriſtianos] ferunt ipſius antiſtitis ac ſacerdotis colere
" genitalia." *Cæcil. apud Minut. in Octav.*

other

other names for Iſis [o] and Oſiris; as we have ſeen above from Theodoret: and ſo Tibullus, —

Primus aratra manu ſollerti fecit OSIRIS,
Et teneram ferro ſollicitavit humum [p].

Hence it is, that the UNIVERSAL NATURE, or the firſt cauſe, the object of all the Myſteries, yet diſguiſed under diverſe NAMES, ſpeaking of herſelf in Apuleius, concludes the ennumeration of her various myſtic rites, in theſe words,—"Priſcaque "doctrina pollentes ÆGYPTII, CEREMONIIS me "prorſus PROPRIIS percolentes, appellant VERO "NOMINE reginam ISIDEM [q]."

But the ſimilitude between the rites practiſed, and the doctrines taught in the Grecian and Egy-

[o] Ἶσις δέ ϐῃ καλὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. *Herodot.* lib. ii. cap. 59. And again, cap. 156. Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἶσις.

[p] Mr. Le Clerc owns, that Plutarch, Diodorus, and Theodoret have all ſaid this; yet, the better to ſupport his ſcheme in the interpretation of the hiſtory of Ceres, he has thought fit to contradict them; but his reaſon is very ſingular, — "C'e-"toit la coûtume des payens de dire que des divinitez étoient "les mêmes, lors qu'ils avoient remarqué quelque legere reſ-"ſemblance entre elles, *dans la fauſſe penſée où ils etoient que* "*les plus grands de leurs dieux s'étoient fait connôître dans toute* "*la terre:* au lieu qu'il n'y en avoit aucun qui ne fut ro-"PIQUE, c'eſt à dire particulier à un lieu — On en trouvera "divers exemples dans le petit traité *De la deeſſe de Syrie.*" *Bib. univ.* tom vi. p. 121. It is very true, that the Gods of the pagans were local deities; but to think the ancients were ignorant of this, when it is from the nature and genius of paganiſm, as delivered by them, that we come to know it, is a very extraordinary conceit. Indeed the moderns, poſſeſſed with their own ideas, were and are generally unattentive to this truth; and ſo have committed many errors in their reaſonings on the ſubject; but that principle of the *intercommunity of worſhip* in ancient paganiſm (explained in another place) would have the ſame effect in ſpreading the worſhip, as if their Gods were univerſal and not local; which ſhews the ancients not miſtaken in the point in queſtion. Yet Mr. Le Clerc, in another place, could ſee that Aſtartè was certainly Iſis, as Adonis was Oſiris; and this, merely from the identity of their ceremonies.

[q] *Metam.* lib. xi.

ptian

ptian myſteries, would be alone ſufficient to point up to their original: ſuch as the *ſecrecy* required of the initiated; which, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, peculiarly characterized the Egyptian teaching; ſuch as the doctrines taught of a *metempſychoſis*, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which the Greek writers agree to have been firſt ſet abroach by the Egyptians[r]; ſuch as *abſtinence* enjoined from domeſtic fowl, fiſh, and beans[s], the peculiar ſuperſtition of the Egyptians; ſuch as the Ritual compoſed in *hieroglyphics*, an invention of the Egyptians[t]. But it would be endleſs to reckon up all the particulars in which the Egyptian and Grecian myſteries agreed: it ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that they were in all things the ſame[v].

Again; nothing but the ſuppoſition of this common original to all the Grecian myſteries can clear up and reconcile the diſputes which aroſe amongſt the Grecian ſtates and cities, concerning the firſt riſe of the *myſteries*; every one claiming to be original to the reſt. Thus Thrace pretended that they came firſt from thence; Crete conteſted the honour with thoſe barbarians; and Athens claimed it

[r] Timæus the Locrian, in his book *Of the ſoul of the world*, ſpeaking of the neceſſity of inculcating the doctrine of future puniſhments, calls them TIMAS PATRIAS FOREIGN TORMENTS; by which name both Latin and Greek writers generally mean, *Egyptian*, where the ſubject is religion.

[s] See Porphyrius *De Abſtin.*

[t] Senex comiſſimus ducit me protinus ad ipſas fores ædis ampliſſimæ, rituque ſolenni aſperſionis celebrato myſterio, ac matutino peracto ſacrificio, de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, literis ignorabilibus prænotatos; partim FIGURIS CUJUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, CONCEPTI SERMONIS COMPENDIOSA VERBA SUGGERENTES, partim nodoſis, & in modum rotæ tortuoſis, capreolatimque condenſis apicibus. Apul. *Metam.* lib. xi.

[v] Πρὸς δὲ τέτοις αἱ τελεῖαι καὶ τὰ μυςήρια ταύτης τ θεᾶ [Δήμητρος] τότε καθιδρύθησαν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, τά τ᾽ ἄλλα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιότητας ὡσαύτως ἔχειν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. *Diod. Sic.* lib. i.

from

from both. And at that time, when they had forgotten the true original, it was impoſſible to ſettle and adjuſt their differences: for each could prove that he did not borrow from others; and, at the ſame time, ſeeing a ſimilitude in the rites [w], would conclude, that they had borrowed from him. But the owning Egypt for their common parent, clears up all difficulties: by accounting for that general likeneſs which gave birth to every one's pretenſions.

Now, in Egypt, all religious worſhip being planned and eſtabliſhed by ſtateſmen, and directed to the ends of policy, we muſt conclude, that the *myſteries* were originally invented by LEGISLATORS.

2. The ſages who brought them out of Egypt, and propagated them in Aſia, in Greece, and Britain, were all kings or lawgivers; ſuch as Zoroaſter, Inachus, Orpheus [x], Melampus, Trophonius, Minos, Cinyras, Erectheus, and the Druids.

3. They were under the ſuperintendance of the State. A magiſtrate, intitled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, or king, preſided in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries. Lyſias informs us, that this king was to offer up the public prayers, according to their country rites; and to ſee that nothing impious or immoral crept into the celebration [y]. This title given to the preſident of the myſteries, was, doubtleſs, in memory of the firſt founder: to whom were joined four officers,

[w] — Καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τρόπον τινὰ κοινοποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτά τ', καὶ τῶν Σαμοθρᾴκων, καὶ τα ἐ Λημνῳ, καὶ ἄλλα πλείω· ὥῤῥ τὸ τὰς προσπόλους λέγεσθαι τὰς αὐτάς. *Strabo*, lib. x.

[x] Of whom Ariſtophanes ſays, Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν καθέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι· "Orpheus taught us the myſteries, "and to abſtain from murder," i. e. from a life of rapine and violence, ſuch as men lived in the *ſtate of nature.*

[y] — Καὶ δύκας δόξεται καλὰ τὰ πάτρια — ὅπως ἂν μηδεὶς ἀδικῇ, μηδὲ ἀσεβῇ περὶ τὰ ἱερά — *in Andoc.*

choſen

choſen by the people, called ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΑΙ or curators[z]; the prieſts were only under-officers to theſe, and had no ſhare in the direction: for this being the legiſlator's favourite inſtitution, he took all poſſible care for its ſupport; which could not be done more effectually, than by his watching over it himſelf. On the other hand, his interfering too openly in religious matters would have defeated his end; and the people would ſoon have come to regard this high ſolemnity as a mere engine of ſtate; on which account, he carefully kept behind the curtain. For though it be now apparent that the *myſteries* were the invention of the civil magiſtrate, yet even ſome ancients, who have mentioned the *myſteries*, ſeemed not to be apprized of it, and their ignorance hath occaſioned great embroilment in all they ſay on this ſubject. The reader may ſee by the ſecond chapter of Meurſius's *Eleuſinia*, how much the ancients were at a loſs for the true founder of thoſe myſteries; ſome giving the inſtitution to Ceres; ſome to Triptolemus; others to Eumolpus; others to Muſæus; and ſome again to Erectheus. How then ſhall we diſengage ourſelves from this labyrinth, into which Meurſius has led us, and in which, his guard of ancients keep us incloſed? This clue will eaſily conduct us through it. It appears, from what hath been ſaid, that Erectheus, KING of Athens, eſtabliſhed the myſteries[a]; but that the people unluckily confounded the inſtitutor, with the PRIESTS, Eumolpus and Muſæus, who firſt officiated in the rites; and, with Ceres and Triptolemus, the DEITIES, in whoſe honour they were celebrated. And theſe miſtakes were natural enough: the poets would be apt, in

[z] See Meurſius's *Eleuſinia*, cap. xv.
[a] And ſo ſays Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. *Bibl.*

the

the licence of their figurative ſtyle, to call the Gods, in whoſe name the myſteries were performed, the *founders* of thoſe myſteries; and the people, ſeeing only the miniſtry of the officiating prieſts (the legiſlator keeping out of ſight) in good earneſt believed thoſe myſtagogues to be the founders. And yet, if it were reaſonable to expect from poets or people, attention to their own fancies and opinions, one would think they might have diſtinguiſhed better, by the help of that mark, which Erectheus left behind him, to aſcertain his title; namely, the erection of the officer called βασιλεὺς, or *king*.

4. But this original is ſtill further ſeen from the qualities required in the aſpirants to the myſteries. According to their original inſtitution, neither *ſlaves* nor *foreigners* were to be admitted into them[b]. Now if the myſteries were inſtituted, primarily for the ſake of teaching religious truths, there can be no reaſon given why every man, with the proper moral qualities, ſhould not be admitted: but ſuppoſing them inſtituted by the ſtate for political purpoſes, a very good one may be aſſigned; for *ſlaves* and *foreigners* have there neither property nor country. When afterwards the Greeks, by frequent confederations againſt the Perſian, the common enemy of their liberties, began to conſider themſelves as one people and community, the Myſteries were extended to all who ſpoke the Greek language. Yet the ancients, not reflecting on the ori-

[b] — ἦλθε [Ἡρακλῆς] πρὸς Εὔμολπον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα, βουλόμενον μυηθῆναι· ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν ΞΕΝΟΙΣ τότε μυεῖσθαι — Schol. Hom. *Il.* Θ. It was the ſame in the Cabiric myſteries, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. who ſpeaks of the like innovation made there.— δικεῖ δὲ καὶ πρῶτος ΞΕΝΟΙΣ μυῆσαι. As to ſlaves hear Ariſtophanes in his Θεσμοφόριαζ.

— συ δ' ἄπιθ' ὦ Θρᾷττ' ἐκπεδών
ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξὴν ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων.

ginal and end of their inſtitution, were much perplexed for the reaſons of an excluſion ſo apparently capricious. Lucian tells us, in *The life of* his friend *Demonax*, that that great philoſopher had the courage, one day, to aſk the Athenians, why they excluded barbarians from their Myſteries, when Eumolpus, a barbarous Thracian, had eſtabliſhed them [c]: but he does not tell us their anſwer. One of the moſt judicious of the modern critics was as much at a loſs; and therefore thinks the reſtraint ridiculous, as implying, that the inſtitutors thought, the ſpeaking the Greek tongue contributed to the advancement of piety [d].

5. Another proof of this original may be deduced from what was taught, promiſcuouſly to all the initiated; which was, *the neceſſity of a virtuous and holy life, to obtain a happy immortality.* Now this, we know, could not come from the ſacerdotal warehouſe: the prieſts could afford a better pennyworth of their elyſium, at the eaſy expence of oblations and ſacrifices: for, as our great philoſopher (who, however, was not aware of this extraordinary inſtitution for the ſupport of virtue, and therefore concludes too generally) well obſerves, "the prieſts made it not their buſineſs to "teach the people virtue: if they were diligent in

[c] Ἐτόλμησε δέ ποτε καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς προρρήσεως ἀκούσας, διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν ἀποκλείουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους· καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τελετὴν αὐτοῖς καταστησαμένου Εὐμόλπου, βαρβάρου καὶ Θρᾳκὸς ὄντος. But the fact, their not being a *grecian*, but a *foreign*, that is, barbarous, invention, is proved by their very name, μυστήρια from the eaſtern dialect, *miſtor* or *miſtur*, res aut locus abſconditus.

[d] Auctor eſt Libanius in Corinthiorum actione, myſtagogos ſumma diligentia initiandos ante omnia monuiſſe, ut manus puras an mumque ſibi ſerva ent purum: καὶ τὴν φωνὴν Ἑλληνας ἢ; & *ut in voce* five *ſermone Græcos ſe præſtarent:* hoc quidem profecto ridiculum, quaſi faceret ad veram pietatem, Græca potius quam alia lingua loqui. If. Caſauboni *Exercit* xvi. *ad Annales Eccl. Baron.*

"their

" their obſervations and ceremonies, punctual in " their feaſts and ſolemnities, and the tricks of re- " ligion, the holy tribe aſſured them that the Gods " were pleaſed, and they looked no further: few " went to the ſchools of philoſophers, to be in- " ſtructed in their duty, and to know what was " good and evil in their actions: the prieſts ſold " the better pennyworths, and therefore had all " the cuſtom: for luſtrations and ſacrifices were " much eaſier than a clean conſcience and a ſteddy " courſe of virtue; and an expiatory ſacrifice, that " atoned for the want of it, much more conveni- " ent than a ſtrict and holy life[e]." Now we may may be aſſured, that an inſtitution, which taught the neceſſity of a ſtrict and holy life, could not but be the invention of lawgivers, to whoſe ſchemes virtue was ſo neceſſary.

6. Another ſtrong preſumption of this original is the great uſe of the *myſteries* to the ſtate: ſo amply confeſſed by the wiſeſt writers of antiquity, and ſo clearly ſeen from the nature of the thing itſelf.

7. But, laſtly, we have the teſtimony of the knowing Plutarch for this original; who, in his treatiſe *Of Iſis and Oſiris*, expreſly tells us, that it was " a moſt ancient opinion, delivered down, from " LEGISLATORS and Divines, to poets and philo- " ſophers, the author of it entirely unknown, but " the belief of it indelibly eſtabliſhed, not only in " tradition, and the talk of the vulgar, but in the " MYSTERIES and in the ſacred offices of religion, " both amongſt Greeks and barbarians, ſpread all " over the face of the globe, That the Univerſe was " not upheld fortuitouſly, without Mind, Reaſon, " or a Governor to preſide over its revolutions[f]."

[e] Locke's *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity.*

[f] Διὸ καὶ παμπαλαιὸν αὐτὴν κάτεισιν ὑπὸ θεολόγων καὶ NOMOΘETΩN εἰς τε ποιητὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους δόξα, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδέσποτον ἔχουσα,

It is now ſubmitted to the reader, whether it be not fairly proved, that the MYSTERIES *were invented by the* LEGISLATOR, *to affirm and eſtabliſh the general doctrine of a providence, by inculcating the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.* Indeed, if we may believe a certain ancient, who appears to have been well verſed in theſe matters, they gained their end, by clearing up all doubts concerning the righteous government of the Gods[g].

We have ſeen in general, how fond and tenacious ancient paganiſm was of this extraordinary Rite, as of an inſtitution ſupremely uſeful both to SOCIETY and RELIGION. But this will be ſeen more fully in what I now proceed to lay before the Reader; an examination of two celebrated pieces of antiquity, the famous *Sixth book of* VIRGIL's *Æneis*, and the *Metamorphoſis of* APULEIUS: The firſt of which will ſhew us of what uſe the myſteries were eſteemed to SOCIETY; and the ſecond, of what uſe to RELIGION.

An inquiry into Æneas's adventure to the ſhades, will have this farther advantage, the inſtructing us in the *ſhews and repreſentations of the myſteries*; a part of their hiſtory, which the form of this diſcourſe upon them hath not yet enabled us to give. So that nothing will be now wanting to a perfect knowledge of this moſt extraordinary and important inſtitution.

For, the deſcent of Virgil's hero into the infernal regions, I preſume, was no other than a figurative

τὴν δὲ πίστιν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ δυσεξάλειπτον, οὐκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον, οὐδὲ ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλὰ ἴν τε ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ, ἔν τε θυσίαις, καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ Ἕλλησι πολλαχῇ διφερομένοις, ὡς ἴστ' ἄνων καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀκυβέρνητον αἱρεῖται τῷ αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν. —

[g] Ὁ δὲ τοῖς μυστικοῖς ἐγκαθιερῆται παραλαγέλμασιν ὑπομείνας, καὶ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς αὐτὰς σύστοιχος καθὸ δαιμονίων ψυχομυθ. περὶ οὐδενὸς ἔτι τὴν περὶ τὲ θεὺς ἔχει θρησκείαν ἀμφίβολον. Sopater in *Diviſ. Quæſt.*

deſcri-

deſcription of an INITIATION; and particularly, a very exact picture of the SPECTACLES in the ELEUSINIAN myſteries; where every thing was done in ſhew and machinery; and where a repreſentation [h] of the hiſtory of Ceres afforded opportunity of bringing in the ſcenes of heaven, hell, elyſium, purgatory, and whatever related to the future ſtate of men and heroes.

But, to ſoften this paradox all we can, it may be proper to enquire into the nature of the *Æneis*.

Homer's two poems had each a plain and entire ſtory, to convey as perfect a moral: and in this, he is juſtly eſteemed excellent. The Roman poet could make no improvements here: the Greek was complete and perfect; ſo that the patrons of Virgil, even Scaliger himſelf, are forced to ſeek for his ſuperior advantages in his epiſodes, deſcriptions, ſimilies, and in the chaſtity and correctneſs of his thoughts and diction. In the mean time they have all overlooked the principal advantage he had over his great exemplar.

Virgil found the epic poem in the firſt rank of human compoſitions; but this was too narrow a foundation for his enlarged ambition: he was not content that its ſubject ſhould be to inſtruct the world in MORALS; much leſs did he think of PHYSICS, though he was fond of natural enquiries, and Homer's allegorizers had opened a back-door to let in the Philoſopher with the Poet; but he aſpired to make it a SYSTEM OF POLITICS. On this plan he wrote the *Æneis*; which is, indeed, as perfect

[h] — ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πλατὼν τὴν Κόρην ἥρπασε· καὶ ἡ Δήμητρα ἀλωμένη καὶ τὰς ἐρίνυας τὸ τέκνον ἐζητεῖ· καὶ τοῦτον τὸν μῦθον εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι σεμνόν. Juſt. Mart. *Orat. ad Græc.* prope init. Δηὼ δὲ καὶ Κόρη δρᾶμα ἠσκησάτην μυστικὸν καὶ τὴν πλάνην, καὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν, καὶ τὸ πένθος αὐταῖν Ἐλευσὶς δεδεχεῖ. Clemens Alex in *Protreptico*, p. 9.

an Inſtitute in verſe, by EXAMPLE, as the *Republics* of Plato and Tully were in proſe by PRECEPT. Thus he added a new province to epic poeſy. But though every one ſaw that Auguſtus was ſhadowed in the perſon of Æneas, yet it being ſuppoſed that thoſe political inſtructions, which the poet deſigned for the ſervice of mankind, were ſolely for the uſe of his maſter, they miſſed of the true nature of the poem. And in this ignorance, the ſucceeding epic writers following a work whoſe genius they did not underſtand, wrote worſe than if they had only taken Homer, and his ſimpler plan for their direction. A great modern poet, and beſt judge of their merit, aſſures us of the fact; and what has been ſaid will help us to explain the reaſon of it: "The other epic poets (ſays this admirable writer) have uſed the ſame practice [that of Virgil, of running two fables into one] but generally carry it ſo far, as to ſuperinduce a multiplicity of fables, deſtroy the unity of action, and loſe their readers in an unreaſonable length of time[i]."

Such was the revolution Virgil brought about in this nobleſt region of poeſy; an improvement ſo great, that the trueſt poet had need of all the aſſiſtance the ſublimeſt genius could lend him: nothing leſs than the joint aid of the *Iliad* and *Odyſſes* being able to furniſh out the execution of his great idea: for a *ſyſtem of politics* delivered in the example of a great prince, muſt ſhew him in every public occurrence of life. Hence Æneas was, of neceſſity, to be found voyaging, with Ulyſſes, and fighting, with Achilles.

But if the improved nature of his ſubject compelled him to depart from that ſimplicity in the fable, which Ariſtotle, and his beſt interpreter,

[i] *Preface* to the *Iliad of Homer.*

Boſſu, find ſo divine in Homer [k]; he gained conſiderable advantages by it in other circumſtances of the compoſition: for now, thoſe ornaments and decorations, for whoſe inſertion the critics could give no other reaſons than to raiſe the *dignity* of the poem, become *eſſential* to the ſubject. Thus the choice of princes and heroes for his perſonages, which were, before, only uſed to grace the ſcene, now conſtitute the nature of the action [l]: and the machinery of the Gods, and their intervention on every occaſion, which was to create the *marvellous*, becomes, in this improvement, an indiſpenſable part of the poem. A divine interpoſition is in the very ſpirit of ancient legiſlation; where, we ſee, the principal care of the lawgiver was to poſſeſs the people with the full belief of a providence. This is the true reaſon of ſo much machinery in the *Æneis*; for which, modern critics impeach the author's judgment, who, in a poem written in the refined and enlightened age of Rome [m], followed the marvellous of Homer ſo cloſely. An excellent writer, ſpeaking of Virgil in this view, ſays, "If there be any inſtance in the

[k] Nous ne trouverons point, dans la fable de l'*Eneide*, cette ſimplicité qu'Arioſto a trouvée ſi divine dans Homére. *Traité du poeme epique*, lib. i. cap. xi

[l] — "Le retour (ſays Boſſu) d'un homme en ſa maiſon, & "la querelle de deux autres, n'ayant rien de grand en ſoi, de- "viennent des actions illuſtres & importantes, lorſque dans le "choix des noms, le poete dit que c'eſt l'Ulyſſe qui retourne "en Ithaque, & que c'eſt Achille & Agamemnon qui querel- "lent." — He goes on, "Mais il y a des actions qui d'elles "mêmes ſont trés importantes, comme *l'eſtabliſſement, ou la "ruine d'un etat, ou d'une religion.* Telle eſt donc l'action de "l'Eneide." lib. ii. cap. 19 He ſaw here a remarkable difference in the ſubjects; it is ſtrange this ſhould not have led him to ſee that the *Æneis* is of a different ſpecies.

[m] Ce qui eſt beau dans Homére pourroit avoir été mal reçû dans les ouvrages d'un poete du tems d'Auguſte. *Idem*, lib. iii. cap. 8. *De l'admirable.*

" *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it " is in the beginning of the third book, where " Æneas is repreſented as tearing up the myrtle " that dropped blood. This circumſtance ſeems " to have the marvellous without the probable, " becauſe it is repreſented as proceeding from na- " tural cauſes without the interpoſition of any " God, or rather, ſupernatural power capable of " producing it[n]." But ſurely this inſtance was ill choſen. The poet makes Æneas ſay, on this occaſion,

Nymphas venerabar agreſtes,
Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præſidet arvis,
Rite ſecundarent viſus OMENque levarent[o].

Now *omens* were of two kinds[p], the natural and ſupernatural. This in queſtion, was of the latter ſort, produced by the intervention of the Gods, as appears by his calling this adventure, MONSTRA

[n] Mr. Addiſon's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 316. quarto edit. 1721.
[o] Lib. iii.
[p] Ulyſſes, in Homer, mentions both theſe ſorts in the following lines,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ μ' —
Φήμῃ τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων
Ἔνδοθεν, ἔκλυθεν ᾗ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φωνήτω.

The word *omen* in its proper ſenſe ſignifies *futuræ rei ſignum, quod ex ſermone loquentis capitur*. Tully ſays, lib. i. *Divin.* " Pythagorei non ſolum voces deorum obſervarunt, ſed etiam " hominum, quæ vocant omina." This ſort of omen was ſuppoſed to depend much upon the will of the perſon concerned in the event. Hence the phraſes *accepit omen*, *arripuit omen*. This, as we ſay, was its firſt and proper ſignification. It was afterwards applied to *things*, as well as *words*. So Paterculus ſpeaking of the head of Sulpicius on the roſtrum, ſays it was *velut omen imminentis proſcriptionis*. And Suetonius of Auguſtus: " Auſpicia quædam & omina pro certiſſimis obſervabat. " Si mane ſibi calceus perperam, ac ſiniſter pro dextero indu- " ceretur, ut dirum." It was uſed ſtill in a larger ſenſe to ſignify an *augury*, as by Tully, *De Div.* lib. i.

Sic aquilæ clarum firmavit Jupiter *omen*.

And laſtly, in the moſt generical ſenſe of all, for a portent or *prodigy* in general, as in the place before us.

DEUM;

DEUM: it was of the ſpecies of thoſe portentous *ſhowers of blood* ſo frequently occurring in the roman hiſtory. And the poet was certainly within the bounds of the probable, while he told no more than what their graveſt writers did not ſcruple to record in their annals.

But this was not done merely to raiſe admiration. He is here (we obſerve) in his legiſlative capacity; and writes to poſſeſs the people of the interpoſition of the Gods, in OMENS and PRODIGIES; on which account Æneas is conſtantly called *Pius*, except where the appellation had been downright ridiculous: As Turnus, who is contraſted to him, is marked, on his firſt appearance, by his irreverence to the prieſteſs of Juno. This was the method of the old lawgivers. So Plutarch, as quoted above, tells us, "that with divinations and "OMENS, Lycurgus ſanctified the Lacedemonians, "Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and "Deucalion all the Greeks in general; and by "hopes and fears kept up in them the awe and "reverence of religion [q]." The ſcene of this adventure is laid, with the utmoſt propriety, on the uncivilized, inhoſpitable ſhores of Thrace, to inſpire horror for barbarous manners, and an appetite for civil policy [r].

[q] Æneas having urged Dido with the command of the Gods for leaving Carthage, the poet makes her, in rage and deſpair, anſwer his pretence with the following ſcoff:

Scilicet is Superis labor eſt; ea cura QUIETOS
Sollicitat — Lib. iv.

But to prevent the ill effects of theſe *Epicurean* principles (very properly put into the mouth of a perſon immerſed in pleaſure) he makes the impiety preceded by her own acknowledgment that ſhe was agitated by the Furies:

Heu! furiis incenſa feror —

And the more forced and awkward this apology appears to be, the more ſtrongly has the poet ſhewn his attention to his end.

[r] On this account it is that Virgil here deſerts the mythologiſts,

But every thing in this poem is directed to great and public ends. The turning the ships into sea-deities, in the ninth book, has something in it infinitely more extravagant, than the *myrtle dropping blood*, and has been more generally and severely censured; and indeed must be defended on other principles. The philosophic commentators of Homer's poem, had brought the fantastic refinement of allegory into great vogue. We may estimate the capacity of Virgil's judgment in not catching at so alluring a bait, by observing that some of the greatest of the modern epic poets, who approached nearest to Virgil in genius, have been betrayed by it.

and makes the *golden age* the age of *civil policy*, the time when men were first brought out of a state of nature. Thus Evander says,

Hæc nemora indigenæ fauni nymphæque tenebant —
Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat; neque jungere tauros,
Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:
Sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
Primus ab ætherio venit Saturnus Olympo —
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,
Composuit, legesque dedit. Lib. viii.

Whereas Ovid, who speaks the sense of the mythologists, makes the *golden age* to be that which went before civil policy; and Saturn to govern in *that* which Virgil makes to precede his reign.

Aurea prima sata est ætas, quæ, vindice nullo,
Sponte sua, sine lege fidem rectumque colebat.
Pœna metusque aberant: nec verba minacia fixo
Ære legebantur: nec supplex turba timebant
Judicis ora sui. —
Ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta, nec ullis
Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus:
Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,
Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fragra legebant,
Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arbore glandes.
Ver erat æternum —
Postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso —
Tum primum subiere domos —
Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juvenci.
Metam. lib. i.

Yet

Yet here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in paſſing. And the adventure in queſtion is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the ſhips into ſea-deities, he would inſinuate, I ſuppoſe, the great advantages of cultivating a naval power; ſuch as extended commerce, and the dominion of the ocean; which, in poetical language, is becoming *deities of the ſea.*

Mortalem eripiam formam, magnique jubebo
Æquoris eſſe Deas—

He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book, where he makes theſe transformed ſea-nymphs accompany Æneas, and his fleet of auxiliaries, through the Tyrrhene ſea.

Atque illi medio in ſpatio chorus, ecce, ſuarum
Occurrit comitum: nymphæ, quas alma Cybele
Numen habere maris, nymphasque e navibus eſſe
Juſſerat—
Agnoſcunt longe regem luſtrantque choreïs.

As the not taking the true ſcope of the *Æneis*, hath occaſioned miſtakes, to Virgil's diſadvantage, concerning the *plan and conduct* of the poem; ſo hath it likewiſe, concerning the *characters.* The PIETY of Æneas, and his high veneration for the Gods, ſo much offends a celebrated French writer[s], that he ſays, *the hero was fitter to found a religion*[t] *than a monarchy.* He did not know, that the image of a perfect lawgiver is held out to us in Æneas: and had he known that, he had perhaps been ignorant, that it was the office of ſuch a one to found *religions* and colleges of prieſts[v], as well as

[s] Monſieur de St. Evremont.

[t] i. c. a community of monks.

[v] Ἔνθα Προμηθεὺς,
Ἰαπετιονίδης ἀγαθὸν τέκε Δευκαλίωνα,
Ὃς πρῶτος ΠΟΛΗΑΣ ἔδειματο νηΐους
ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ, πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων βασιλεύσεν.

ſtates and corporations. And Virgil tells us this was the office of his hero,

Dum conderet URBEM,
Inferretque DEOS Latio---

But the humanity of Æneas offends this critic as well as his piety; he calls him a mere St. Swithin, always raining. The beauty of that circumſtance eſcaped him. It was proper to repreſent a perfect lawgiver as quickly touched with all the affections of humanity: and the example was the rather to be inforced, becauſe vulgar politicians are but too generally ſeen diveſted of theſe common notices; and the habit of vulgar heroiſm is apt to induce paſſions very oppoſite to them. Thus Virgil having painted Turnus in all the colours of Achilles, and Æneas in thoſe of Hector (for the ſubject of the *Iliad* being the deſtruction of a vicious and corrupt community, the fitteſt inſtrument was a brutal warrior, *acer*, *iracundus*, ſuch as Achilles; and the ſubject of the *Æneid* being the erection of a great and virtuous empire, the fitteſt inſtrument was a pious patriot, like Hector,) Turnus, I ſay, was to be characteriſed as one delighting in blood and ſlaughter.

Sævit amor ferri, & SCELERATA inſania belli,
Ira ſuper [w]---

And, to make this paſſion the more deteſtable, the Poet tells us it was inſpired into him by a Fury. But when he repreſents Æneas as accepting the favourable ſigns from Heaven, which puſhed him on to war, he draws him, agreeable to ſuch a character, compaſſionating the miſeries which his very enemies, by their breach of faith, were to ſuffer in it.

Heu, quantæ miſeris cædes Laurentibus inſtant!
Quas pœnas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa per undas

[w] Lib. vii. ℣ 461.

Scuta

Scuta virûm, galeasque, & fortia corpora volves,
Tibri pater! poſcant acies, & fœdera rumpant [x].

Nor is the view, in which we place this poem, leſs ſerviceable to the vindication of the Poet's other characters. The learned author of the *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, will forgive me for differing from him, in thinking that that uniformity of manners in the *Æneis*, which he ſpeaks of, was the effect of deſign, not, as he would have it, of cuſtom and habit: "Virgil, ſays he, had "ſeen much of the ſplendor of a court, the mag-"nificence of a palace, and the grandeur of a "royal equipage: accordingly his repreſentations "of that part of life, are more auguſt and ſtately "than Homer's. He has a greater regard to de-"cency, and thoſe poliſhed manners, that render "men ſo much of a piece, and make them all re-"ſemble one another in their conduct and behavi-"our [y]." For the Æneis being a ſyſtem of politics, what this writer calls *the eternity of a government, the form of a magiſtrature, and plan of dominion*, muſt needs be *familiar with the Roman poet*; and nothing could be more to his purpoſe, than a repreſentation of *poliſhed manners*; it being the legiſlator's office to tame and break men to humanity; and to make them diſguiſe, at leaſt, if they cannot be brought to lay aſide, their ſavage manners.

But this key to the *Æneis* not only clears up a great many paſſages obnoxious to the critics [z], but

[x] Lib. viii. ℣ 537. [y] Page 325.

[z] M. Voltaire ſays,

Virgile orne mieux la raiſon,
A plus d'art, autant d'harmonie;
Mais il s'epuiſe avec Didon,
Et rate à la fin Lavinie. *Stances ſur les poetes ep.*

But the epiſode of Dido and Æneas was given not to ornament his poem with the deſcription of a love adventure, but to ſhew the public miſchiefs of a prince's indulging this weakneſs:

adds

adds an infinite beauty to a vaſt number of incidents throughout the whole poem; of which take the following inſtances, the one, in *religion*, and the other, in *civil policy*.

1. Æneas, in the *eighth* book, goes to the court of Evander, in order to engage him in a confederacy againſt the common enemy. He finds the king and his people buſied in the celebration of an annual ſacrifice. The purpoſe of the voyage is diſpatched in a few lines, and the whole epiſode is employed in a matter altogether foreign to it, that is to ſay, the ſacrifice, the feaſt, and a long hiſtory of Hercules's adventure with Cacus. But it is done with great art and propriety; and in order to introduce, into this political poem, that famous inſtitute of Cicero, (in his book *Of laws*) deſigned to moderate the exceſs of labouring ſuperſtition, the *ignotæ ceremoniæ*, as he calls them, which at that time ſo much abounded in Rome.— "Divos & eos, qui cœleſtes ſemper habiti, colun- "to, & ollos, QUOS ENDO COELO MERITA VO- "CAVERINT, HERCULEM, Liberum, Æſculapi- "um, Caſtorem, Pollucem, Quirinum"—Thus copied by Virgil, in the beginning of Evander's ſpeech to Æneas.

Rex Evandrus ait: Non hæc ſolemnia nobis,
Has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
VANA SUPERSTITIO veterumque ignara deorum
Impoſuit. *Sævis*, hoſpes Trojane, *periclis*

— regnorum immemores, turpique cupidine captos.

The poet therefore had defeated his own deſign, if, when he had recovered his hero from this weakneſs, made him ſay of his deſtined empire in Italy,

— hic amor, hæc patria eſt —

perfected his character, and brought him to the end of his labours, he had ſtill drawn him ſtruggling with this impotent and unruly paſſion.

Servati

Servati facimus, MERITOSQUE novamus honores---
A leſſon of great importance to the pagan lawgiver. This *ſuperſtitio ignara veterum deorum* was, as we have ſhewn, a matter he took much care to rectify in the *myſteries*; not by deſtroying that ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of dead men, which was indeed his own invention, but by ſhewing *why* they paid that worſhip; namely, for benefits done by thoſe deified heroes to the whole race of mankind.

Quare agite, o juvenes! *tantarum in munere laudum*, &c.

The concluſion of Evander's ſpeech,

COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM, & date vina volentes,

alludes to that other inſtitute of Cicero, in the ſame book *Of Laws*. "SEPARATIM nemo habeſſit Deos: "neve NOVOS, neve advenas, niſi publice adſcitos, "PRIVATIM colunto." Of which he gives the reaſon in his comment, "ſuosque Deos, aut No- "vos aut Alienigenas coli, confuſionem habet "religionum, & ignotas ceremonias.

Nor ſhould we omit to obſerve a further beauty in this epiſode; and in imitation, ſtill, of Cicero; who, in his book *Of Laws*, hath taken the beſt of the Roman inſtitutes for the foundation of his ſyſtem; for the worſhip of Hercules, as introduced by Evander, and adminiſtred by the POTITII on the altar called the ARA MAXIMA, was, as Dion. Hal. and Livy tell us, the oldeſt eſtabliſhment in Rome; and continued for many ages in high veneration. To this the following lines allude,

Hanc *aram* luco ſtatuit, quæ *maxima* ſemper &c.
---Jamque ſacerdotes, primusque *Potitius*, ibant.

But Virgil was ſo learned in all that concerned the Roman ritual, that it was a common ſaying, (as we collect from Macrobius) *Virgilius noſter Pontifex maximus videtur:* And that writer not apprehending the reaſon of ſo exact an attention to ſacred things, being ignorant of the nature of the poem, ſays, MI-

randum eſt hujus poetæ et circa noſtra et circa externa ſacra doctrinam*.

2. In the *ninth* book we have the fine epiſode of Niſus and Euryalus; which preſents us with many new graces, when conſidered (as it ought to be) as a repreſentation of one of the moſt famous and ſingular of the Grecian inſtitutions. Crete, that ancient and celebrated ſchool of legiſlation, had a civil cuſtom, which the Spartans firſt, and afterwards all the principal cities of *Greece* [a] borrowed

* Satur. l. iii. c. 6.

[a] The Etruſci ſeem to have had the ſame cuſtom, in which the public repoſed its laſt confidence. Livy tells us, that in the 444th year of Rome, when the affairs of this people were grown deſperate by the repeated defeats of their armies, they had recourſe to the *lex ſacra*, as their laſt refuge. Of which the hiſtorian gives this ſuccinct and obſcure account,----" ad " Vadimoniis lacum Etruſci *lege ſacrata* coacto exercitu, quum " *vir virum legiſſet*, quantis nunquam alias ante ſimul copiis, " ſimul *animis* dimicarunt," &c. lib. ix. The commentators are at a loſs for the meaning of this *ſacred law*, in raiſing an army where every ſoldier was to chuſe his fellow. I certainly think it to be the inſtitution in queſtion: the Etruſci were deſcended from the Pelaſgi, and had afterwards civilized and poliſhed themſelves by Grecian cuſtoms, as one may well ſuppoſe from the character Livy gives of them in this book--- " Cære educatus apud hoſpites, Etruſcis inde literis eruditus " erat: --- habet autores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, ſicut " nunc Græcis, ita Etruſcis literis erudiri ſolitos." But, in general, the giving a traditive original even to the moſt characteriſtic cuſtoms, is very fallacious. Mahomet, who certainly did not borrow from the ancient Grecian practices, yet eſtabliſhed the ſame kind of fraternity amongſt his followers, in the firſt year of the Hegira. See Abul-feda, *De vita Mahommedis*, cap. 26. init. *De fraternitate inſtituta inter Moſlemos.* And what is ſtill more extraordinary, the Miſſionaries aſſure us, that it is one of the moſt ſacred inſtitutions amongſt the warrior-nations of the free people in North America. Which, becauſe it ſo exactly reſembles the Grecian, in all its circumſtances, I ſhall give, as I find it deſcribed by one of their beſt writers. " Chacun parmi eux a un ami à peu pres de ſon age, auquel " il s'attache, et qui s'attache à lui par des liens indiſſolubles. " Deux hommes ainſi unis pour leur intérêt commun, doivent " tout faire & tout riſquer pour s'entr'aider, & ſe ſecourir mu- " tuellement: *la mort même, à ce qu'ils croyent, ne les ſepare que* " *pour un tems: ils comptent bien de ſe rejoindre dans l'autre monde*

from

from them, for every man of diſtinguiſhed valour or wiſdom to adopt a favourite youth, for whoſe education he was anſwerable, and whoſe manners he had the care of forming. Hence Niſus is ſaid to be

ACERRIMUS ARMIS,

Hyrtacides;

And Euryalus,

COMES Euryalus, quo PULCHRIOR alter
Non fuit Æneadum, Trojana neque induit arma;
Ora PUER prima ſignans INTONSA JUVENTA.

The lovers (as they were called) and their youths always ſerved and fought together; — ſo Virgil of theſe:

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant,
Tum quoque communi portam ſtatione tenebant.

The lovers uſed to make preſents to their favourite youths. — So Niſus tells his friend:

Si, TIBI, quæ POSCO promittunt (nam *mihi* facti
Fama ſat eſt) &c.

The ſtates of Greece, where this inſtitution prevailed, reaped ſo many advantages from it, that they gave it the greateſt encouragement by their laws: ſo that Cicero, in his book *Of a republic*, obſerved, "opprobrio fuiſſe adoleſcentibus ſi amatores "non haberent?" Virgil has been equally intent to recommend it by all the charms of poetry and

"*pour ne ſi plus quitter*, perſuadés qu'ils y auront encore be-"ſoin l'un de l'autre. — On ajoute, que ces amis, quand ils "ſe trouvent eloignés les uns des autres, s'invoquent recipro-"quement dans les périls, ou ils ſe recontrent; ce qu'il faut "ſans doute entendre de leurs genies tutélaires. *Les preſens* "*ſont les noeuds de ces aſſociations*, l'intérêt & le beſoin les for-"tifient; c'eſt un ſecours ſur lequel on peut preſque toujours "compter. *Quelques uns pretendent qu'ils s'y gliſſe du deſordre*; "mais j'ai ſujet de croire qu'au moiens cela n'eſt pas general." *Journal d'un voyage dans l'Amerique Septentrionale par le P. de Charlevoix*, tome vi. p. 14.

eloquence. The amiable character, the affecting circumſtance, the tenderneſs of diſtreſs, are all inimitably painted.

The youth ſo educated, were found to be the beſt bulwark of their country, and moſt formidable to the enemies of civil liberty. On which account, the Tyrants, wherever they prevailed, uſed all their arts to ſuppreſs an inſtitution ſo oppoſite to private intereſt and ambition. The annals of ancient Greece afford many examples of the bravery of theſe bands, who chearfully attempted the moſt hazardous adventures. So that Virgil did but follow hiſtory when he put theſe two friends on one of the moſt daring actions of the whole war; as old Aletes underſtood it:

Dî patrii, quorum ſemper ſub numine Troja eſt,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos juvenum, & tam certa tuliſtis
Pectora.

Plutarch, ſpeaking of the Thebans, in the *Life of Pelopidas*, ſays, that "Gorgias firſt enrolled "the ſacred band, conſiſting of three hundred "choſen men; and that this corpſe was ſaid to be "compoſed of LOVERS and their FRIENDS. It "is reported, ſays he, that it continued uncon-"quered till the battle of Chæronea; and when, "after that action, Philip was ſurveying the dead, "and came to the very ſpot where theſe three "hundred fell, who had charged in cloſe order "ſo fatally on the Macedonian lances, and ob-"ſerved how they lay heaped upon one another, "he was amazed, and being told, that this was "the band of *lovers* and their *friends*, he burſt in-"to tears, and ſaid, *Accurſed be they who can ſu-"ſpect that theſe men either did or ſuffered any thing "diſhoneſt*. But certainly (continues my author) "this inſtitution of lovers did not ariſe in Thebes,

as

"as the poets imagined, from the PASSION of "Laius, but from the WISDOM of Legislators [b]."
Such was the friendship our poet would here represent, where he says,

Nisus AMORE PIO pueri—

and where he makes Ascanius call Euryalus,

VENERANDE puer—

The one dies in defence of the other; revenges his death; and then falls with him, like the lovers in the SACRED BAND:

moriens animam abstulit hosti.
Tum super exanimem sese projecit AMICUM
Confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.

And here let it be observed, that, as this episode is given for a picture of this Institution in it's purity; so, in the Enemies' quarter, he hath given another drawing of it, in it's degeneracy and corruption.

—Tu quoque flaventem prima lanugine malas
Dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia Cydon
Dardania stratus dextra securus amorum
Qui juvenum tibi semper erant, miserande jaceres*.

The poet hath observed the same conduct, as we shall see hereafter, with regard to the *pure* and the *corrupt* Mysteries.

Before I leave these previous circumstances, permit me only to take notice, that this was the *second species* of the epic poem; our own country-man, Milton, having produced the *third:* for just as Virgil rivaled Homer, so Milton, emulated both of them. He found Homer

[b] Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὥς φασιν, συνελάξαλο Γοργίδας πρῶτος, ἓξ ἀν-δρῶν ὁπλέκλων τριακοσίων, — ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν ἓξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων ῥυώ-δαι τὸ σύσημα τοῦτο.—λέγεται δὲ Δημμεῖναι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μά-χης ἀήττηλον· ὡς δὲ μελὰ τὴν μάχλω ἐφορῶν τὰς νεκρὰς ὁ Φίλιππος. ἔγη καλὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνελύγχανε κεῖσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους ἐναλλὶς ἀπολωληκότας ταῖς σαρίσσαις ἅπανλας ἐν τοῖς γενοῖς ὅπλοις, καὶ μεῖ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμιγνυμένους, θαυμάσαλα, καὶ συθόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων ἔδη εἶη λόχος δακρύσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς οἱ τάτες τι ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν αἰσχρὸν ὑπονοοῦντες. Ὅλως δὲ τῆς ὡδὶ τὰς ἐρασὰς συνη-θείας, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηλαὶ λέγεσι, Θηβαίοις τὸ Λαΐε πάθος ἀρχὴν παρ-έσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ NOMOΘETAI. Vol. ii. p. 218, 219. Brian. ed.

* L. x. ỳ 324.

poſſeſſed of the province of *Morality*; Virgil, of *Politics*; and nothing left for him, but that of *Religion*. This he ſeized, as ambitious to ſhare with them in the government of the poetic world: and by means of the ſuperior dignity of his ſubject, hath gotten to the head of that Triumvirate which took ſo many ages in forming. Theſe are the *three ſpecies* of the Epic poem; for its largeſt ſphere is *human action*; which can be only conſidered in a *moral*, a *political*, or *religious* view: and theſe the three great MAKERS; for each of their poems was ſtruck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its firſt eſſay. Here then the grand ſcene was cloſed; and all further improvements of the Epic at an end.

It being now underſtood, that the *Æneis* is in the ſtyle of ancient legiſlation, it would be hard to think that ſo great a maſter in his art, ſhould overlook a DOCTRINE, which, we have ſhewn, was the foundation and ſupport of ancient politics; namely a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments*. Accordingly he hath given us a complete ſyſtem of it, in imitation of his models, which were Plato's *viſion of Erus*, and Tully's *dream of Scipio*. Again, as the Lawgiver took care to ſupport this *Doctrine* by a very extraordinary Inſtitution, and to commemorate it by a RITE, which had all the allurement of ſpectacle; and afforded matter for the utmoſt embelliſhments of poetry, we cannot but confeſs a deſcription of ſuch a Scene would add largely to the grace and elegance of his work; and muſt conclude he would be invited to attempt it. Accordingly, we ſay, he hath done this likewiſe, in the allegorical deſcent of Æneas into Hell; which is no other than an enigmatical repreſentation of his INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES.

Virgil was to repreſent a perfect lawgiver, in the perſon of Æneas; now, initiation into the Myſteries was what ſanctified his character and enobled his function. Hence we find all the ancient heroes

and

and lawgivers were, in fact, initiated [c]. And it was no wonder the legiſlator ſhould endeavour by his example to give credit to an inſtitution of his own creating.

Another reaſon for the hero's initiation, was the important inſtructions he received in matters that concerned his office [d], as we may ſee in the ſecond ſection of the third book.

A third reaſon for his initiation, was the cuſtom of ſeeking ſupport and inſpiration from the God who preſided in the myſteries [e].

A fourth reaſon for his initiation, was the circumſtance in which the poet has placed him, unſettled in his affairs, and anxious about his future fortune. Now, amongſt the uſes of initiation, the advice and direction of the ORACLE was not the leaſt. And an oracular bureau was ſo neceſſary an appendix to ſome of the myſteries, as particularly the *Samothracian*, that Plutarch, ſpeaking of Lyſander's initiation there, expreſſes it by a word that ſignifies *conſulting the oracle*, Ἐν ᾗ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ χρησηριαζόμενος, &c. on this account, Jaſon, Orpheus, Hercules, Caſtor, and (as Macrobius ſays [f]) Tarquinius Priſcus, were every one of them initiated into thoſe myſteries.

[c] Δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τ' Διόκλῃ τ' Πληξίππῳ
Εὐμόλπῃ τ' βίᾳ, κελεύσ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν,
Δεησμοσιῴλῳ ἱερῶν, καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὀργια πᾶσιν.
Homeri Fragm. *Hymn. in Cer.* apud Pauſ. *Corinth.*

[d] — γίνεσθαι δέ φασι καὶ εὐσεβεστέρους καὶ δικαιοτέρους καὶ πάντα βελτίονας ἑαυτῶν τοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνήσαντας· διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡρώων τ' καὶ ἡμιθέων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πεφιλοτιμῆσθαι μεταλαβεῖν τῆς τελετῆς· καὶ γὰρ Ἰασίωνα καὶ Διοσκόρους, ἔτι δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ὀρφέα μυηθέντας ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πραξεσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὴν τῶν θεῶν τέτων ἐπιφάνειαν. *Diod.* p. 224.

[e] Lib. iii. cap. 4.

[f] The rhetor Sopater, in his Διαιρέσεις ζητημάτων, makes Pericles ſay, Πιστεύω ταῖς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι θεαῖς, τετόν μοι ἐκβεβηκέναι τὸν νεῶν, καὶ τὸ γραφήγημα τετο ὑπ' ἀνακτόρων δεῖναι τῶν μυστικῶν.

All this the poet seems clearly to have intimated in the speech of Anchises to his son:

Lectos juvenes fortissima corda,
Defer in Italiam.—Gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
Infernas *accede* domos —
Tum genus omne tuum, &, *quæ dentur mœnia*
discES [g].

A fifth reason was the conforming to the old popular tradition, which said, that several other heroes of the Trojan times, such as Agamemnon and Ulysses, had been initiated [h].

A sixth and principal was, that Augustus, who was shadowed in the person of Æneas, had been initiated into the Eleusinian *mysteries* [i].

While the Mysteries were confined to Egypt, their native country, and while the Grecian lawgivers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of designation to their office, the ceremony would be naturally described, in terms highly allegorical. This was, in part, owing to the genius of the Egyptian manners; in part, to the humour of travellers; but most of all, to the policy of lawgivers; who, returning home, to civilize a barbarous people, by laws and arts, found it useful and necessary (in order to support their own characters, and to establish the fundamental principle of a future state) to represent *that* initiation, in which, they saw the state of departed mortals in machinery, as an actual descent into hell. This way of speaking was

[g] *Æn.* v. ℣ 729, & seq.

[h] Ἀγαμέμνονά φασι μεμυημένον, ἐν ταραχῇ ὄντα πολλῇ καὶ Τροίαν, δι' ἀκαλασίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παῦσαι τὴν στάσιν, πορφυρίδα ἔχοντα — Ὀδυσσέα φασὶ μεμυημένον ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκῃ χρήσασθαι τῷ κηδέμονι αὐτῷ ταινίᾳ. Scholia Apollon. Rhod. *Arg.* lib. i. ℣ 916.

Ὄφρα δαείῃς
Ἀμβρήκιος ἀγανῇσι τελεσφορίῃσι θεμίστας —

[i] Suet. *Oct.* cap. xciii.

used

uſed by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others; and continued even after the myſteries were introduced into Greece, as appears by the fables of Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux, and Theſeus's deſcent into hell. But the allegory was generally ſo circumſtanced, as to diſcover the truth concealed under it. So Orpheus is ſaid to get to hell by the power of his harp:

Threïcia fretus cithara, fidibusque canoris:

that is, in quality of lawgiver; the harp being the known ſymbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. So again, in the lives of Hercules and Bacchus, we have the true hiſtory, and the fable founded on it, blended and recorded together. For we are told, that they were in fact initiated into the *Eleuſinian* myſteries; and that it was juſt before their deſcent into hell, as an aid and ſecurity in that deſperate undertaking [k]. Which, in plain ſpeech, was no more, than that they could not *ſafely* ſee the *ſhews*, till they had been *initiated*. The ſame may be ſaid of what is told us of Theſeus's adventure. Near Eleuſis there was a Well, called Callichorus; and, adjoining to that, a *ſtone*, on which, as the tradition went, Ceres ſat down, ſad and weary, on her coming to Eleuſis. Hence the ſtone was named Agelaſtus, the *melancholy ſtone* [l]. On which account it was deemed unlawful for the initiated to ſit thereon. "For "Ceres (ſays Clemens) wandering about in ſearch "of her daughter Proſerpine, when ſhe came to "Eleuſis, grew weary, and ſat down melancholy "on the ſide of a well. So that, to this very

[k] — Καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέα ἢ τὸν Διόνυσον, καλιόντας εἰς ἅιδε, πρότερον λόγον ἐνθάδε μνησθῆναι, καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης ἀφορμῆς τῆς Ἐλευσῖνος ἐναυσάσαι. Auctor *Axiochi.*

[l] Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα. So Ovid:

Hic primum ſedit gelido mœſtiſſima ſaxo;
Illud Cecropidæ nunc quoque *triſte* vocant.

" day, it is unlawful for the initiated to ſit down " there, leſt they, who are now become perfect, " ſhould ſeem to imitate her in her deſolate con- " dition [m]." Now let us ſee what they tell us concerning Theſeus's deſcent into hell. " There " is alſo a ſtone (ſays the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtopha- " nes) called by the Athenians, Agelaſtus; on " which, they ſay, Theſeus ſat when he was me- " ditating his deſcent into hell. Hence the ſtone " had its name. Or, perhaps, becauſe Ceres ſat " there, weeping, when ſhe ſought Proſerpine [n]." All this ſeems plainly to intimate, that the *deſcent* of Theſeus was his *entrance* into the *Eleuſinian myſteries*. Which entrance (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) was a fraudulent intruſion.

Both Euripides and Ariſtophanes ſeem to confirm our interpretation of theſe deſcents into hell. Euripides, in his *Hercules furens*, brings the hero, juſt come from hell, to ſuccour his family, and deſtroy the tyrant Lycus. Juno, in revenge, perſecutes him with the furies; and he, in his tranſport, kills his wife and children, whom he miſtakes for his enemies. When he comes to himſelf, he is comforted by his friend Theſeus; who would excuſe his exceſſes by the criminal examples of the Gods: a conſideration, which, as I have obſerved above, greatly encouraged the people in their irregularities; and was therefore obviated in the Myſteries, by the detection of the vulgar errors of polytheiſm. Now Euripides ſeems plainly enough

[m] Ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηὼ καὶὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Θυγατρὸς τῆς κόρης, ἐφ' τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα, αὐτοκάμψ, ᾗ φρέαλι ὑπεκαθίζει λυπεμένη. Τὸτο τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἀπαγορεύειαι εἰσετι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τελεσμένοι μιμεῖδαι τὴν ὀδυρομένιν. Clemens *Protrept.*

[n] Ἐςι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλας ὠνόμα καλεμένη ἐφ' ᾗ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπω καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς ᾅδᾶ· ὅθεν καὶ τὄνομα τῇ πέτρᾳ· ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτης κλαίεσα, ὅταν ἐζήτει τὴν κόρην. Schol. Equit. *Ariſtoph.* l. 782.

to have told us what he thought of the fabulous descents into hell, by making Hercules reply, like one just come from the celebration of the Mysteries, and entrusted with the ἀπόῤῥητα. "The examples (says he) which you bring of the Gods, "are nothing to the purpose. I cannot think "them guilty of the crimes imputed to them. I "cannot apprehend, how one God can be the so-"vereign of another God. — A God, who is truly "so, stands in need of no one. Reject we then "these idle fables, which the poets teach concern-"ing them." A *secret*, which we must suppose, Theseus (whose entrance into the mysteries was only a fraudulent intrusion) had not yet learnt.

The comic poet, in his *Frogs*, tells us as plainly what he too understood to be the ancient heroes' descent into hell, by the equipage, which he gives to Bacchus, when he brings him in, enquiring the way of Hercules. It was the custom, at the celebration of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, as we are told by the scholiast on the place, to have what was wanted in those rites, carried upon asses. Hence the proverb, *Asinus portat mysteria:* accordingly the poet introduces Bacchus, followed by his buffoon servant Xanthius bearing a bundle in like manner, and riding on an ass. And, lest the meaning of this should be mistaken, Xanthius, on Hercules's telling Bacchus, that the inhabitants of Elysium were the *initiated*, puts in, and says, "And "I am the ass carrying mysteries." This was so broad a hint, that it seems to have awakened the old scholiast; who, when he comes to that place, where the *Chorus of the initiated* appear, tells us, we are not to understand this scene as really lying in the ELYSIAN FIELDS, but in the ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES [o].

[o] ἰχθὺν δὲ, ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ τὰς ἐν ᾅδου μύστας φαίνεται λέγειν ἀλλὰ τῇ

Here then, as was the caſe in many other of the ancient fables, the pomp of expreſſion betrayed willing poſterity into the *marvellous*. But why need we wonder at this in the genius of more ancient times, which delighted to tell the commoneſt things in a highly figurative manner, when a writer of ſo late an age as Apuleius, either in imitation of antiquity, or perhaps in compliance to the received phraſeology of the *myſteries*, deſcribes his *initiation* in the ſame manner. "Acceſſi confinium "mortis; & calcato Proſerpinæ limine, per omnia "vectus elementa remeavi: nocte media vidi ſolem "candido coruſcantem lumine, Deos inferos & "deos ſuperos. Acceſſi coram, & adoravi de proximo[P]." Æneas could not have deſcribed his night's journey to his companions, after he had been let out of the ivory gate, in properer terms, had it been indeed to be underſtood as a journey into hell.

Thus, we ſee, Virgil was obliged to have his Hero initiated; and that he had the authority of fabulous antiquity to call this initiation a deſcent into hell. And ſurely he made uſe of his advantages with great judgment; for ſuch a fiction animates the relation, which, delivered out of allegory, had been too cold and flat for epic poetry.

We ſee, from Æneas's urging the example of thoſe heroes and lawgivers, who had been initiated before him, that his requeſt was only for an *initiation*:

Si potuit manis arceſſere conjugis Orpheus,
Thrëicia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris:
Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
Itque reditque viam toties: quid Theſea magnum,

ἀληθέϛα διὰ τὰϛ ἐν Ἐλευϛῖνι, ἐλαύδα καὶ ὑϕίϛαλο ἡ σκηνὴ τῷ δράματϑ. in ℣ 357.

[P] Lib. xi. prope finem.

Quid

Quid memorem Alciden? & mi genus ab Jove
summo.

It is to be observed, that Theseus is the only one of these ancient heroes not recorded in history to have been *initiated*, though we have shewn that *his* descent into hell was, like that of the rest, only a participation of the Mysteries. The reason is, his entrance was a violent intrusion.

Had an old poem, under the name of Orpheus, intituled, *A descent into hell*, been now extant, it would, perhaps, have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's *initiation*; and that the idea of this sixth book was taken from thence.

But further, it was customary for the poets of the Augustan age to exercise themselves on the subject of the Mysteries, as appears from Cicero, who desires Atticus, then at Athens, and *initiated*, to send to Chilius, a poet of eminence [q], an account of the *Eleusinian* mysteries; in order, as it would seem, to insert into some poem he was then writing [r]. Thus it appears, that both the ancient and modern poets afforded Virgil a pattern for this famous episode.

Even Servius saw thus far into Virgil's design, as to say, that *many* things were here delivered *according to the profound learning of the Egyptian theology* [s]. And we have shewn that the doctrines taught in the *mysteries*, were invented by that people. But though I say this was our poet's general design, I would not be supposed to think he followed no other guides. Several of the circumstances are

[q] See lib. i. ep. 16. *ad Atticum.*

[r] Chilius te rogat & ego ejus rogatu ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ: lib. i. epist. 9. *ad Atticum.* On which Victorius observes, "πάτρια fere omnes excusi, quemadmodum est in antiquis, "habent: ut intelligat ritus patrios & institutiones illius sacræ "familiæ, & augusta mysteria, ut inquit Cicero, ii. *De legg.*"

[s] Multa per altam scientiam theologicorum Ægyptiorum.

borrowed

borrowed from Homer; and ſeveral of the philoſophic notions from Plato: ſome of which will be taken notice of, in their place.

The great manager in this affair is the SIBYL: and, as a Virgin, ſhe ſuſtains two principal and diſtinct parts: that of the inſpired *Prieſteſs*, to pronounce the ORACLE (whoſe relation to the *myſteries* is ſpoken of above); and that of *Hierophant*, to conduct the initiated through the whole celebration.

Her firſt part begins,

Ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, *Poſcere fata*
Tempus, ait. Deus, ecce, Deus —
O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis *&c.*

and ends,

Ut primum ceſſit furor, & rabida ora quierunt.

Her ſecond part begins at,

Sate ſanguine divûm,
Tros Anchiſiade *etc.*

and continues through the whole book. For as we have obſerved, the initiated had a guide or conductor, called Ἱεροφάντης, Μυσαγωγὸς, Ἱερεὺς, indifferently of either ſex[t], who was to inſtruct him in the preparatory ceremonies, and lead him through, and explain to him, all the ſhews and repreſentations of the Myſteries. Hence Virgil calls the Sibyl *Magna Sacerdos*, and *Docta Comes*, words of equivalent ſignification: and this, becauſe the Myſteries of Ceres were always celebrated in Rome by female prieſts[u]. And as the female myſtagogue,

[t] Τὰς ἱερείας [Δήμητρος] Μελίσσας ἐκάλεν οἱ ποιηταί. Schol. Eurip. *Hippol.* Μελίσσας κυρίως τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερείας φησί. Schol. Pind. *Pythion.*

[u] So the ſatyriſt,

Paucæ adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignæ.
Juv. *Sat.* vi.

as

as well as the male, was devoted to a ſingle life[w], ſo was the Cumæan Sibyl, whom he calls *Caſta Sibylla*. Another reaſon why a prieſteſs is given to conduct him, is, becauſe Proſerpine preſides in this whole affair. And the name of the prieſteſs in the *Eleuſinian* myſteries ſhews that ſhe properly belonged to Proſerpine, though ſhe was alſo called the prieſteſs of Ceres. "The ancients (ſays Porphyrius) called the prieſteſſes of Ceres Μέλισσαι, as "being the miniſters or hierophants of the ſubterraneous goddeſs; and Proſerpine herſelf, Μελιτώδης[x]." And Æneas addreſſes her in the language of the aſpirant, to the hierophant:

Potes namque omnia: nec te
Nequidquam lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis.

and ſhe anſwers much in the ſtyle of thoſe ſacred miniſters,

Quod ſi tantus amor, *etc.*
& INSANO juvat indulgere labori;
Accipe quæ peragenda prius.

For *inſanus* is the ſame as ἐνθυσιαστικὸς, and this, as we are told by Strabo, was an inſeparable circumſtance of the myſteries[y].

[w] Hierophanta apud Athenas eviratur virum, & æterna debilitate fit caſtus. Hieron ad Geron. *De Monogamia.* Cereris ſacerdotes, viventibus etiam viris, & conſentientibus, amica ſeparatione viduantur. Tertul. *De Monogamia*, ſub finem. Καὶ τὸν ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ καὶ τὰς ΙΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΔΑΣ, καὶ τὸν δαδοῦχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυρίδιτης ἔχειν σέφανον· δι' ἃ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρι προσέοικε ταυτὸν φησί. Schol. Sophocl. *Oedip.* col. v. 674. —— It was for this reaſon that theſe female *hierophants* were called Μέλισσαι, as is well obſerved by the Schol. on Pind. *in Pyth.* the *bee* being, among the ancients, the ſymbol of chaſtity:

Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora ſegnes
In Venerem ſolvunt.

[x] Τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερείας, ὡς χθονίας θεᾶς μύστιδας, Μέλισσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Κόρην Μελίτωδη. *De Antro nymph.*

[y] Τῇ Δημήτρι καὶ Διὶ τὸ ΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ Βακχικὸν, καὶ τὸ χορικὸν, καὶ τὸ σοφὸν τὰς τελετὰς μυστικὸν. lib. x.

The

The firſt inſtruction the prieſteſs gives Æneas, is to ſearch for the *golden bough*, ſacred to Proſerpine;

Aureus & foliis & lento vimine ramus,
Junoni infernæ ſacer.

Servius can make nothing of this circumſtance. He ſuppoſes it might poſſibly allude to a tree in the middle of the ſacred grove of Diana's temple in Greece; where, if a fugitive came for ſanctuary, and could get off a branch from the tree, which was carefully guarded by the prieſts, he was to contend in ſingle combat with one of them, and, if he overcame, was to take his place[z]. Though nothing can be more foreign to the matter in queſtion than this rambling account, yet the Abbe Banier is content to follow it[a], for want of a better[b]. But the truth is,

[z] But Servius, in his explanation of the *branch*, went upon the opinion that Æneas's deſcent into hell was the ſame with that of Ulyſſes, in Homer, *a necromantic incantation* by ſacrifice, to call up the ſhadows from thence. "Ramus enim neceſſe erat, ut & unius cauſa eſſet interitus, unde & ſtatim mortem ſubjungit Miſeni: & ad ſacra Proſerpinæ accedere, niſi ſublato ramo non poterat. Inferos autem ſubire, hoc dicit ſacra celebrare Proſerpinæ." And again, ad ℣ 149. "*Præterea jacet exanimum tibi corpus amici.* Ac ſi diceret; Eſt & alia opportunitas deſcendendi ad inferos, id eſt, Proſerpinæ ſacra peragendi. Duo enim horum ſacrorum genera fuiſſe dicuntur; unum NECYOMANTIÆ, quod Lucanus exſequitur; & aliud SCIOMANTIÆ, id eſt, divinationis per umbras; σκία enim umbra eſt, & μαντεία, vaticinium, quod in *Homero*, *quem Virgilius ſequitur*, lectum eſt."

[a] *Explicat. hiſtor. des fables*, vol. ii. p. 133. Ed. 1715.

[b] The learned Selden in his comment on the ninth book of *Poly-olbion*, ſeems to approve the abſurd conjecture of P. Crinitus, that the *golden-bough* ſignifies *miſletoe*: and would confirm it by that very reaſon, which abſolutely overthrows it; viz. that Virgil COMPARES it to the *miſletoe*: for it is contrary to all the rules of good writing, whether ſimply figurative, or allegoric, to make the *compariſon* to the cover, the *contents* of the cover: a *compariſon* neceſſarily implying, that the thing, to which another is compared, ſhould be different from that other.

under

under this branch, is concealed the *wreath of myrtle*, with which the initiated were crowned, at the celebration of the mysteries [c]. 1. The *golden bough* is said to be sacred to Proserpine, and so we are told was the *myrtle:* Proserpine only is mentioned all the way; partly, because the initiation is described as an actual descent into hell; but principally, because, when the *rites* of the mysteries were performed, Ceres and Proserpine were equally invoked; but when the *shews* were represented, then Proserpine alone presided: now this book is a representation of the shews of the mysteries. 2. The quality of this *golden bough*, with its *lento vimine*, admirably describes the *tender branches of myrtle.* 3. The doves of Venus are made to direct Æneas to the tree:

Tum maximus heros
Maternas agnoscit *aves.*

They fly to it, and delight to rest upon it, as their mistress's favourite tree.

Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt.

For the *myrtle*, as is known to every one, was consecrated to Venus. And there is a greater propriety and beauty in this disposition, than appears at first sight. For not only the myrtle was dedicated to Proserpine as well as Venus, but the doves likewise, as Porphyry informs us [d].

But the reader may ask, why is this myrtle-branch represented to be of *gold?* not merely for the sake of the *marvellous*, he may be assured. A *golden bough* was literally part of the sacred equipage in the shews of the mysteries. For, the branch which was sometimes wreathed into a crown, and

[c] Μυρσίνης στεφάνῳ ἐστεφανῶντο οἱ μεμυημένοι Schol. Aristoph. *Ranis.*

[d] Τῆς δὲ Περιφάτης, παρὰ τὸ φέρεσθαι τὴν φάτταν, φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὄνομα τῶν Θεολόγων. ἱερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φάττα. Porph. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 16.

worn on the head, was, at other times, carried in the hand. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us [e], from Dionyſius Thrax the grammarian, that it was an Egyptian cuſtom to hold a branch in the act of adoration. And of what kind theſe branches were, Apuleius tells us, in his deſcription of a proceſſion of the initiated in the myſteries of Iſis. "Ibat "tertius, attollens PALMAM AURO SUBTILITER "FOLIATAM, nec non mercurialem etiam CA-"DUCEUM [f]." The *golden branch*, then, and the *caduceus* were related. And accordingly Virgil makes the former do the uſual office of the latter, in affording a free paſſage into the regions of the dead. Again, Apuleius, deſcribing the fifth perſon in the proceſſion, ſays, "Quintus auream "vannum AUREIS congeſtam RAMULIS [g]." So that a *golden bough*, we ſee, was an important implement, and of very complicated intention in the *ſhews* of the myſteries.

Æneas having now poſſeſſed himſelf of the *golden bough*, a paſſport as neceſſary to his *deſcent* as a *myrtle crown* to *initiation*,

Sed non ante datur telluris operta ſubire,
Auricomos quam quis decerpſerit arbore fœtus,

carries it into the ſibyl's grot:

Et vatis portat ſub tecta ſibyllæ.

And this was to deſign initiation into the *leſſer myſteries:* for Dion Chryſoſtom [h] tells us, it was performed ἐν οἰκήματι μικρῷ, in a little narrow chapel, ſuch a one as we muſt ſuppoſe the Sibyl's grot to be. The *initiated* into theſe rites were called ΜΥΣΤΑΙ.

[e] — ὥσπερ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὸ τῶν θαλλῶν τῶν διδομένων τοῖς προσκυνοῦσι. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 568.

[f] *Metam.* lib. xi. p. 383. [g] Ibid.

[h] *Orat.* 12.

he

He is then led to the opening of the deſcent:

Speluncæ *alta* fuit, *vaſtoque immanis hiatu*
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris.

And his reception is thus deſcribed:

Sub pedibus mugire ſolum & juga cœpta moveri
Sylvarum; viſæque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante dea.

How ſimilar is all this to the fine deſcription of the poet Claudian, where, profeſſedly and without diſguiſe, he ſpeaks of the tremendous entry into theſe myſtic rites,

Jam mihi cernuntur trepidis delubra moveri
Sedibus, & claram diſpergere fulmina lucem,
Adventum teſtata Dei. Jam magnus ab imis
Auditur fremitus terris, *templumque remugit*
Cecropium; *ſanctasque faces attollit* ELEUSIN;
Angues Triptolemi ſtridunt, & ſquamea curvis
Colla levant attrita jugis —
Ecce procul ternas Hecate variata figuras
Exoritur.[i].

Both theſe deſcriptions agree exactly with the relations of the ancient Greek writers on this ſubject. Dion Chryſoſtom, ſpeaking of *initiation* into the myſteries, gives us this general idea of it: "Juſt "ſo it is, as when one leads a Greek or barbarian "to be initiated in a certain myſtic dome, excel- "ling in beauty and magnificence; where he ſees "many myſtic ſights, and hears in the ſame man- "ner a multitude of voices; where darkneſs and "light alternately affect his ſenſes; and a thouſand "other uncommon things preſent themſelves be- "fore him [i]."

The poet next relates the fanatic agitation of the myſtagogue, on this occaſion,

[i] *De raptu Proſerp.* ſub initio.

Procul,

Procul, o procul eſte, profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque abſiſtite luco.
Tantum effata furens antro ſe immiſit aperto.

So again, Claudian, where he counterfeits, in his own perſon, the raptures and aſtoniſhment of the *initiated*, and throws himſelf, as it were, like the ſibyl, into the middle of the ſcene,

Greſſus removete, profani,
Jam furor humanos noſtro de pectore ſenſus
Expulit.

The PROCUL, O PROCUL ESTE, PROFANI of the ſibyl, is a literal tranſlation of the formula uſed by the myſtagogue, at the opening of the myſteries:

ΕΚΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΤΕ, ΒΕΒΗΛΟΙ.

But now the poet, intending to accompany his hero through all the myſterious rites of his *initiation*, and conſcious of the imputed impiety in bringing them out to open day, ſtops ſhort in his narration, and breaks out into this ſolemn apology,

Dii, quibus imperium eſt animarum, umbræque ſilentes;
Et Chaos & Phlegethon loca nocte ſilentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui: ſit numine veſtro
Pandere res alta terra & caligine merſas —

Claudian, who (as we have obſerved) profeſſes openly to treat of the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, at a time when they were in little veneration, yet, in compliance to old cuſtom, excuſes his undertaking in the ſame manner:

Dii, quibus in numerum, *etc.*
Vos mihi ſacrarum penetralia pandite rerum,

[k] Σχεδὸν ἓν ὅμοιον, ὥσπερ εἴτις ἀνδρα Ἕλληνα, ἢ βάρβαρον μυεῖσθαι παραδιδοὺς εἰς μυστικόν τινα οἶκον, ὑπερφυῆ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει, πολλὰ μὲν ὁρῶντα μυστικὰ θεάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκούοντα τοιούτων φωνῶν, σκότος τ' ἂν φαίη καὶ οὐδὲν ἀλλαχῇ αὐτῷ φαινομένων, ἄλλων τ' μυρίων γινομένων. *Orat.* 12.

Et

Et vestri secreta poli, qua lampade Ditem
Flexit Amor, quo ducta ferox Proserpina raptu
Possedit dotale Chaos; quantasque per oras
Sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu;
Unde datæ populis leges, &, glande relicta,
Cesserit inventis Dodonia quercus aristis[l].

Had the revealing the Mysteries been as penal at Rome, as it was in Greece, Virgil had never ventured on this part of his poem. But yet it was esteemed impious[m]; and what is more, it was infamous.

—— vetabo qui cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum — Hor.

He therefore does it covertly; and makes this apology to such as saw into his meaning.

The hero and his guide now enter on their journey:

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbras:
Perque domos Ditis vacuas, & inania regna.
Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis: ubi cœlum condidit umbra
Jupiter, & rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

This description will receive much light from a passage in Lucian's dialogue of *the tyrant*. As a company made up of every condition of life, are voyaging together to the other world, Mycillus breaks out, and says: "Bless us! how dark "it is? where is the fair Megillus? who can tell "in this situation, whether Simmiche or Phryna

[l] *De raptu Proserpinæ*, lib. i. sub init.

[m] Athenis initiatus [Augustus] cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Cereris cognosceret, & quædam secretoria proponerentur, dimisso concilio & corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. Sueton. lib ii. *Octav. Aug.* cap. 93.

" be the handſomer? every thing is alike, and of " the ſame colour; there is no room for rivalling " of beauties. My old cloak, which but now " preſented to your eyes ſo irregular a figure, is " become as honourable a garb as his majeſty's " purple. They are, indeed, both vaniſhed [n], " and retired together under the ſame cover. But " my friend, the Cynic, where are You! give me " your hand: *you are initiated in the* Eleuſinian " myſteries. *Tell me now, do you not think this* " *very like the blind march they make there?* Cy. *Oh* " *extremely: and ſee, here comes one of the Furies,* " *as I gueſs by her equipage; her torch, and her ter-* " *rible looks* [o]."

The Sibyl, on their approach to the mouth of the cave, had adviſed Æneas to call up all his courage, as being to undergo the ſevereſt trials,

[n] The original has a peculiar elegance. Ἀφανὴ γὰρ ἄμφω &c. alludes to the ancient Greek notions concerning the *firſt matter*, which they called ἀφανὴς, *inviſible*, as being without the qualities of *form* and *colour*. The inveſting matter with theſe qualities, was the production of bodies, the τὰ φαινόμενα: their diſſolution, a return to a ſtate of *inviſibility*. — εἰς Ἀφανες χωρεῖ τὰ διαλυόμενα, as the pretended Merc. Triſmag. has it, cap. xi. *Matter*, in this ſtate of inviſibility, was, by the earlier Greeks, called Ἀδης. Afterwards, the ſtate itſelf was ſo called; and at length it came to ſignify the abode of departed ſpirits: hence ſome of the *Orphic* odes, which were ſung in the myſteries, bore the title of ἡ εἰς Ἀδου καταβασις, *a deſcent in to the regions of the dead*, a little equivalent to τελεταὶ and ἱερος λογος.

[o] ΜΙ. Ἡράκλεις τῆ ζόφῳ· ὦ ἰὼ ὁ καλὸς Μέγιλλος, ἢ τῷ λαμπτῆρι τις ἐνλαῦθα εἰ καλλίων φερυὴς Σιμμίχη, πάνυ γὰρ ἴσα, καὶ ἐμόχθουν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτε καλὸν, ἔτε καλλίον· ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον, περότερον τέως ἄμοιρον ἦν, δοκεῖ, ἰσότιμον γίγνεσθαι τῇ πορφυρίδι τὸ βασιλεως· ἀφανῆ γὰρ ἄμφω, καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αὐτῷ σκότῳ καθαδεδυκότα. Κυνίσκε, σὺ δὲ πῶς πότε ἄρα ὧν τυγχάνεις; — ἔμβαλέ μοι τὴν δεξιάν· εἰπέ μοι, τετελέσθης γὰρ, ὦ Κυνίσκε, τὰ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ, ἦ ΟΜΟΙΑ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ὑμῖν σοι δοκεῖ; ΚΥΝ. οὔ λέγεις· ἰδὲ ἔν περισέρχεσθαι δᾷδα δαγοῦσά τις, φοβερόν τι, καὶ ἀπειλητικὸν προσβλέπουσα· ἢ ἄρα πῶς Ἔρινυς ἐστι; Luciani *Cataplus*.

Tuque

Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum:
Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.

Theſe trials were of two ſorts: the encountering *real* labours and difficulties; and the being expoſed to *imaginary and falſe* terrors. This latter was ſubmitted to by all the initiated in general: the other was reſerved for Chiefs and Leaders. On which account, Virgil deſcribes them both in their order; as they were both to be undergone by his hero. The firſt in theſe words,

Veſtibulum ante ipſum, primisque in faucibus Orci,
Luctus & ultrices poſuere cubilia Curæ:
Pallentesque habitant Morbi[p], triſtisque Senectus.
Et metus, & maleſuada Fames, & turpis Egeſtas;
Terribiles viſu formæ; Lethumque, Labosque:
Tum conſanguineus Lethi Sopor, & mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverſo in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, & Diſcordia demens ——

To underſtand the force of this deſcription, it will be neceſſary to tranſcribe the account the ancients have left us of the probationary trials in the myſteries of MITHRAS, whoſe participation was more particularly aſpired to, by chiefs and leaders of armies; whence theſe initiated were commonly called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRAS[q]. "No one (ſays "Nonnus, could be initiated into theſe myſteries "[of Mithras] till he had paſſed gradually through "the probationary labours [by which he was to

[p] Quint. miſtaken in ſuppoſing pallenteſque &c. a *metonymy*. Had this been the deſcription of an hoſpital he had been right.

[q] Erubeſcite, Romani commilitones ejus, jam non ab ipſo judicandi, ſed ab aliquo MITHRÆ MILITE: qui cum initiatur in ſpelæo &c. Tertull. *De corona militis.*

" acquire a certain *apathe* and ſanctity.] There " were eighty degrees of theſe labours, from leſs " to greater: and when the aſpirant has gone " through them all, he is initiated. Theſe la- " bours are, — to paſs through fire, to endure " cold, hunger, and thirſt, to undergo much jour- " neyings; and, in a word, every toil of this na- " ture [q]."

The ſecond ſort of trial were the *imaginary terrors*, of the myſteries; and theſe, Virgil deſcribes next. And to diſtinguiſh them from the *real labours* preceding, he ſeparates the two accounts by that fine circumſtance of the *tree of dreams*, which introduces the latter.

In medio ramos annoſaque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens: quam ſedem ſomnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque ſub omnibus hærent.
Multaque præterea variarum monſtra ferarum,
Centauri in foribus ſtabulant, Scyllæque biformes,
Et centum geminus Briareus & bellua Lernæ;
Horrendum ſtridens, flammisque armata Chimæra:
Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma tricorporis umbræ.

Theſe *terribiles viſu formæ* are the ſame which *Pletho*, in the place quoted above, calls ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφὰς φάσματα, as ſeen in the entrance of the *my-*

[q] ἐ δωύσαι ἓν τις εἰς αὐτὸν τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἀφ' τῶν βαθμῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι. βαθμοὶ δέ εἰσι κολάσεων τ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντα, ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπόβασιν κ ἀνάβασιν. κολάζονται γὰρ πρῶτον τὰς ἐλαφροτέρας, εἶτα τὰς δραστικωτέρας. κ εἴθ' ὕτω μτ τὸ παρελθεῖν διὰ πασῶν τῶν κολάσεων, τότε τελεῖται ὁ τελούμενος· αἱ δὲ κολάσεις εἰσὶ τὸ διὰ πυρὸς παρελθεῖν, τὸ διὰ κρύος, διὰ πείνης κ δίψης, διὰ ὁδοιπορίας πολλῆς, κ ἁπλῶς διὰ πασῶν τῶν τοιουτων. Nonnus, in *Secundam Nazianz. Steleteuticam.* And again he ſays, ἐδεὶς δὲ δωύσαι τελεῖσθαι τὰς τᾶ Μίθρᾳ τελείας, εἰ μὴ διὰ πασᾶν τῶν κολάσεων παρέλθοι, κ δείξοι ἑαυτὸν ἀπαθῆ τινα κ ὅσιον &c.

ſteries;

ſteries; and which Celſus tells us, were likewiſe preſented in the Bacchic rites [r].

But it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that though theſe things had the uſe here aſſigned to them, it was ſome circumſtance in the recondite phyſiology of the Eaſt, which preferred them to this ſtation. We are to conſider then this dark entrance into the Myſteries, as a repreſentation of the *Chaos*, thus characteriſed.

Ibant obſcuri ſola ſub nocte per umbram,
Perque domos Ditis *vacuas* & *inania* regna.

And amongſt the ſeveral powers invoked by the Poet, at his entrance on this ſcene, *Chaos* is one.

Dî, quibus imperium eſt animorum umbræque ſilentes:
Et CHAOS & Phlegethon, *loca nocte tacentia late.*

Now a fragment of Beroſus, preſerved by George Syncellus, deſcribes the ancient *Chaos*, according to the phyſiology of the Chaldeans, in this manner, — "There was a time, they ſay, when all was "water and darkneſs. And theſe gave birth "and habitation to monſtrous animals of mixed "forms and ſpecies. For there were men with "two wings, others with four, and ſome again "with double faces. — Some had the horns of "goats, ſome their legs, and ſome the legs of "horſes; others had the hind-parts of horſes, and "the fore-parts of men, like the hippocentaurs. "There were bulls with human heads, dogs with "four bodies ending in fiſhes, horſes with dogs "heads; and men, and other creatures with the "heads and bodies of horſes, and with the tails of "fiſhes. And a number of animals, whoſe bo-"dies were a monſtrous compound of the diſ-"ſimilar parts of beaſts of various kinds. To-

[r] Τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ δείματα εἰσαγουσι. Origen. *Contra Celſ.* lib. iv. p. 167.

" gether with theſe, were fiſhes, reptiles, ſerpents, " and other creatures, which, by a reciprocal tranſ- " lation of the parts to one another, became all " portentouſly deformed: the pictures and re- " preſentations of which were hung up in the " temple of Belus. A woman ruled over the whole, " whoſe name was Omoroca, in the Chaldee " tongue Thalath, which ſignifies the ſea; and, in " the courſe of connexion, the moon[f]." This account ſeems to have been exactly copied in the Myſteries, as appears from the deſcription of the poet,

Multaque præterea variarum monſtra ferarum
Centauri in foribus ſtabulant, Scyllæque biformes,
Et centum geminus Briareus, & bellua Lernæ
Horrendum ſtridens, flammisque armata Chimæra;
Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma tricorporis umbræ:

The CANINE figures have a conſiderable ſtation in this region of monſters: And he tells us,

viſæque CANES ululare per umbram:

which Pletho explains in his ſcholia on the magic oracles of Zoroaſter. " It is the cuſtom, in the " celebration of the myſteries, to preſent before

[f] Γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν, σκότος ἦ ὕδωρ ἦν, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τερατώδη, καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. Ἀνθρώπους γὰρ διπλέρους γεγενῆναι, εἶτες δὲ καὶ τετραπλέρους, καὶ διπροσώπους. — τοὺς μὲν αἰγῶν σκέλη καὶ κέρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππόποδας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ὀπίσω μὲν μέρη ἵππων, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἱπποκενταύρους· ἔτι ἰδέαν ταύρου. Ζωογονηθῆναι δὲ καὶ ταύρους, ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὰς ἐχόντας. καὶ κύνας τετρασωμάτους ὠρὰς ἰχθύος ἐκ τῶν ὀπισθίων μερῶν ἐχόντας, καὶ ἵππους κυνοκεφάλους, καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα, κεφαλὰς μὲν καὶ σώματα ἵππων ἔχοντα, ὠρὰς δὲ ἰχθύων καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ζῶα παντοδαπῶν θηρίων μορφὰς ἔχοντα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἰχθύας, καὶ ἑρπετὰ, καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα πλείονα θαυμαστὰ καὶ παρηλλαγμένα τὰς ὄψεις ἀλλήλων ἔχοντα. ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βήλου ναῷ ἀνακεῖσθαι. Ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα, ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμορωπά. Εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θαλάθ, ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνευόμενον θάλασσα, καλὰ δὲ ἰσόψηφον Σελήνην. Georg. Syncel. *Chronogr.*

" many

" many of the initiated, phantaſms of a canine fi-
" gure, and other monſtrous ſhapes and appear-
" ances[s]."

The woman, whoſe name coincides with that of the *moon*, was the *Hecate* of the Greeks, who is invoked by Æneas on this occaſion.

Voce vocans HECATEN *cælo Ereboque* potentem.

Hence terrifying viſions were called *Hecatea*[t]. The reaſon why Hecate, or the moon, came to be one of the governeſſes in theſe rites, was, becauſe ſome had placed Elyſium in the moon; the Elyſian fields being from thence called the *fields of Hecate*. The ancients called Hecate, *Diva* TRIFORMIS. And Scaliger obſerves that this word *thalath*, which Syncellus, or Beroſus, ſays, was equivalent to the moon, ſignifies TRIA.

And now we ſoon find the hero in a fright,

Corripit hic ſubita trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, ſtrictamque aciem venientibus offert.

With theſe affections the ancients repreſent the *Initiated* as poſſeſſed on his firſt entrance into theſe holy rites, " Entering now into the myſtic dome
" (ſays Themiſtius) he is filled with horror and
" amazement. He is ſeized with ſolicitude, and
" a total perplexity: he is unable to move a ſtep
" forward, and at a loſs to find the entrance to
" that road which is to lead him to the place he
" aſpires to. Till the prophet [the vates] or
" conductor, laying open the veſtibule of the
" temple[v]"— To the ſame purpoſe Proclus:

[s] Εἴωθε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τελεμένων φαίνεσθαι καλὰ τὰς τελέας κυνοειδῆ τινα, καὶ ἄλλως αλλοκοία τὰς μορφὰς φάσματα.

[t] *Schol. Apollon. Argon.* l. iii. ℣ 859.

[v] Ὁ μὲν ἄξιος περσιὼν τοῖς ἀδύτοις, φρίκης τε ἀνεπίμπλαιο καὶ ἰλίγγου· ἀδημονία τε εἰχεῖο καὶ ἀπορία συμπάσῃ, οὐδὲ ἴχνος λαβέσθαι οἵης τ' ὢν, ἔτε δυχῆς ἠτινοσῶν ὀπιδραξασθαι εἴσω φρεσίν· ὁπότε δὲ ὁ προφήτης ἐκεῖθεν ἀναπτύξας τὰ προπύλαια τοῦ νεω. *Orat. in Patrem.*

" —As in the moſt holy myſteries, before the ſcene " of the myſtic viſions, there is a terror infuſed " over the minds of the initiated, ſo" &c.[w]

The adventurers come now to the banks of Cocytus. Æneas is ſurprized at the crowd of ghoſts which hover round it, and appear impatient for a paſſage. His guide tells him they are thoſe who have not had the rites of ſepulture performed to their manes, and ſo are doomed to wander up and down for a hundred years, before they be permitted to croſs the river.

Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta
Tranſportare prius, quam ſedibus oſſa quierunt.
Centum errant annos, volitantq; hæc litora circum.
Tum demum admiſſi ſtagna exoptata reviſunt.

We are not to think this old notion took its riſe from the vulgar ſuperſtition. It was one of the wiſeſt contrivances of ancient politics; and came originally from Egypt, the fountain-head of legiſlation. Thoſe profound maſters of wiſdom, in projecting for the common good, found nothing would more contribute to the ſafety of their fellow citizens than the public and ſolemn interment of the dead: as without this proviſion, private murders might be eaſily and ſecurely committed. They therefore introduced the cuſtom of pompous funeral rites: and, as Herodotus and Diodorus tell us, were of all people the moſt circumſtantially ceremonious in the obſervance of them. To ſecure theſe by the force of religion, as well as civil cuſtom, they taught, that the deceaſed could not retire to a place of reſt, till they were performed. The notion ſpread ſo wide, and fixed its roots ſo deep, that the ſubſtance of the ſuperſtition remains, even to this day, in moſt civilized

[w] Ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀγιωτάταις τελεταῖς περὶ τῆς μυστικῶν θεαμάτων ἐκπλήξις τῶν μυουμένων, οὕτω — In Plat. *Theol.* lib. iii. cap. 18.

countries.

countries. By ſo effectual a method did the legiſlature gain its end, the ſecurity of the citizen. There is a circumſtance in claſſical antiquity, which will ſufficiently inform us of how great moment theſe rites were eſteemed. HOMER, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, are confeſſed to be the greateſt maſters of their art, and to have given us the beſt models of it. Yet, in the judgment of modern critics, the funeral rites for Patroclus, in the *Iliad*, and for Ajax and Polynices, in the *Ajax* and the *Phœnicians*, are a vicious continuation of the ſtory, which violates the unity of the action. But they did not conſider, that funeral rites were anciently deemed an inſeparable part of the hero's ſtory: And therefore thoſe great maſters of deſign, could not underſtand the action to be complete, till that important circumſtance was adjuſted [x].

But the egyptian Sage found, afterwards, another uſe in this opinion; and by artfully turning it to a puniſhment on inſolvent debtors, ſtrengthened public credit, to the great advantage of commerce, and conſequently of civil community. For, inſtead of that general cuſtom of modern barbarians to bury inſolvents alive, this polite and humane people had a law of greater efficacy, which denied burial to them when dead. And here the learned Marſham ſeems to be miſtaken, when he ſuppoſes, that the Grecian opinion of the wandering of unburied ghoſts aroſe from this interdiction of ſepulchral rites [y]. On the contrary it appears, that the

[x] Προσεθλῶαι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος, ἢ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς λαμβανούσης θήκης· τῷ δὲ ὑπολιπεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἐπέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην, μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ. τελεύτησαν δὲ ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρώῳ τάφῳ, μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἀποχῳώμενον θάψαι. Herod. lib. ii. cap 136.

[y] Ab interdictæ apud Ægyptios ſepulturæ pœnâ, inolevit

law

law was founded on the opinion, originally Egyptian, and not the opinion on the law; for the law had no other ſanction than the opinion.

In a word, had not our poet conceived it a matter of much importance, he had hardly dwelt ſo long upon it, or returned again to it[z], or laid ſo much ſtreſs on it, or made his hero ſo attentively conſider it:

Conſtitit Anchiſa ſatus, & veſtigia preſſit,
Multa putans.

But having added

—— Sortemque animo miſeratus *iniquam*;

and Servius commented, "Iniqua enim ſors eſt "puniri propter alterius negligentiam: nec enim "quis culpa ſua caret ſepulchro;" Mr. Bayle cries out[a], "What injuſtice is this! was it the "fault of theſe ſouls, that their bodies were not "interred?" But neither of them knowing the origin of this opinion, nor ſeeing its uſe, the latter aſcribes *that* to the blindneſs of religion, which was the iſſue of wiſe policy. Virgil, by his *ſors iniqua*, means no more than that in this, as well as in ſeveral other civil inſtitutions, *a public benefit was often a private injury*.

The next thing obſervable is the ferry-man, Charon; and he, the learned well know, was a ſubſtantial Egyptian; and, as an ingenious writer ſays, *fairly exiſting in this world*[b]. The caſe was plainly thus: the Egyptians, like the reſt of mankind, in their deſcriptions of the other world, uſed to copy from ſomething they were well acquainted with in this. In their funeral rites, which, as we obſerved, was a matter of greater moment with

apud Græcos opinio inſepultorum corporum animas à Charonte non eſſe admiſſas. *Canon Chronicus, Seculum* xi. § 3.

[z] ℣ 373, & ſeq.

[a] *Reſponſ. aux Queſt. d'un Provincial*, p. iii. cap. 22.

[b] Blackwell's *Life of Homer*.

them

them than with any other people, they uſed to carry their dead over the Nile, and through the marſh of Acheruſia, and there put them into ſubterraneous caverns; the ferry-man employed in this buſineſs being, in their language, called Charon. Now in their *myſteries*, the deſcription of the paſſage into the other world was borrowed, as was natural, from the circumſtances of their funeral rites. And it might be eaſily proved, if there were occaſion, that they themſelves transferred theſe realities into the ΜΥΘΟΣ, and not the Greeks, as later writers generally imagine.

Charon is appeaſed at the ſight of the *golden bough:*

Ille admirans venerabile donum
Fatalis virgæ, LONGO POST TEMPORE viſum.

But it is repreſented as the paſsport of all the ancient heroes who had deſcended into hell; how then could it be ſaid to be *longo poſt tempore viſum*, Æneas being ſo near the times of thoſe heroes? To explain this, we muſt have in mind what hath been ſaid above of a perfect lawgiver's being held out in Æneas, and of Auguſtus's being delineated in the Trojan chief. So that here Virgil is pointing to his maſter; and what he would inſinuate, is, that the Roman emperor, initiated in the Eleuſinian rites, ſhould, in a later age, rival the fame of the firſt Grecian lawgivers.

But Æneas hath now croſſed the river, and is come into the proper regions of the dead. The firſt apparition that occurs is the dog Cerberus:

Hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci
Perſonat, adverſo recubans immanis in antro.

This is plainly one of the phantoms of the *myſteries*, which Pletho tells us above, was in the ſhape of a dog, κυνώδη τινά. And in the fable of Hercules's deſcent into hell, which, we have ſhewn, ſignified no more that his *initiation* into the *myſteries*,

ries, it is said to have been, amongst other things, for fetching up the dog Cerberus.

The prophetess, to appease his rage, gives him a medicated cake, which casts him into a slumber:

Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

In the Mysteries of Trophonius (who was said to be nursed by Ceres [b], that is, to derive his rites from the Eleusinian) the Initiated carried the same sort of medicated Cakes to appease the serpents he met with in his passage [c]. Tertullian, who gives all *mysteries* to the devil, and makes *him* the author of what is done there, mentions the offering up of these cakes, *celebrat et panis oblationem* [d]. This in question was of *poppy-seed*, made up with honey; and so I understand *medicatis frugibus*, here, on the authority of the poet himself, who, in the fourth book, makes the priestess of Venus prepare the same treat for the *dragon* who guarded the Hesperian fruit:

Spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver.

Honey, as we have shewn above, was sacred to Proserpine, who on that account was called Μελιλώδης; and the poppy was consecrated to Ceres: *Cereale Papaver*, says Virgil; on which words Servius thus comments: "Vel quod est usui, sicut frumentum, "vel quo Ceres usa est ad oblivionem doloris; "nam ob raptum Proserpinæ vigiliis defatigata, "gustato eo acta est in soporem [e]."

But, without doubt, the images, which the juice of poppy presents to the fancy, was one reason why this drug had a place in the ceremonial of the

[b] Δήμητρι — τῇ Τροφωνίᾳ ἢ τροφόν. *Pausan. Bœot.* c. 39.
[c] Μελιτοῦντας ἐπάγοντες ἐν ταῖν χερσῖν, μειλίγματα ἑρπετῶν. — *Philos. Vit. Apoll.* l. viii. c. 15.
[d] *De præscr. adver. hæret.* [e] Ad lib. i. *Georg.* ℣ 212.

shews:

shews: not improbably, it was given to some at least of the *initiated*, to aid the impression of those mystic visions which passed before them. For that something like this was done, that is, giving medicated drugs to the aspirants, we are informed by Plutarch; who speaks of a shrub called Leucophyllus used in the celebration of the mysteries of *Hecate*, which drives men into a kind of frenzy, and makes them confess all the wickedness they had done or intended. And confession was one necessary preparative for initiation.

The regions, according to Virgil's geography, are divided into three parts: 1. PURGATORY. 2. TARTARUS. 3. ELYSIUM. For Deiphobus in the first says,

Discedam, EXPLEBO numerum reddarque tenebris[f].

And in the second it is said of Theseus,

Sedet, ÆTERNUMque sedebit
Infelix Theseus. —

The *mysteries* divided them in the same manner. So Plato, in the passage[g] quoted above (where he speaks of what was taught in the *mysteries*) talks of souls sticking fast in mire and filth, and remaining in darkness, till a long series of years had *purged and purified* them, and Celsus, in *Origen*[h], says, that the Mysteries taught the doctrine of *eternal* punishments.

Of all the three States this of *Tartarus* only was *eternal*. There was, indeed, another, in the ancient pagan theology, which had the same relation to Elysium, that Tartarus had to Purgatory, the extreme of reward, as Tartarus of punishment. But then this state was not in the infernal regions, but in Heaven. Neither was it the lot of com-

[f] But the nature and end of this purgatory the poet describes at large, from ℣ 736, to ℣ 745.

[g] See note (a) p. 185. [h] See note (l) p. 199.

mon *humanity*, but reſerved for *heroes* and *dæmons*; Beings, of an order ſuperior to men, ſuch as Hercules, Bacchus, &c. who became Gods on their admiſſion into that ſtate, where the *eternity* was in conſequence of their deification.

Cicero diſtinguiſhes the two orders of ſouls, according to the vulgar Theology, in this manner. "Quid autem ex hominum genere conſecratos, "ſicut Herculem & cæteros coli lex jubet, indicat "*omnium* quidem *animos immortales* eſſe; FORTIUM "BONORUMQUE DIVINOS[1]." But this has nothing to do with the general doctrine of rewards and puniſhment in a future ſtate, as taught in the *myſteries*.

And here it is to our purpoſe to obſerve, that the Virtues and Vices, which ſtock theſe three diviſions with inhabitants, are ſuch as more immediately affect ſociety. A plain proof that the poet followed the views of the Legiſlator, the inſtitutor of the Myſteries.

PURGATORY, the firſt diviſion, is inhabited by *ſuicides, extravagant lovers, and ambitious warriors:* And, in a word, by all thoſe who had indulged the violence of their paſſions; which made them rather miſerable than wicked. It is remarkable that amongſt theſe we find one of the *initiated:*

Cererique ſacrum Polybœten.

This was agreeable to the public doctrine of the Myſteries, which taught, that *initiation with virtue* procured men great advantages over others, in a future ſtate; but that *without virtue*, it was of no ſervice.

Of all theſe diſorders, the poet hath more diſtinctly marked out the miſery of SUICIDE.

Proxima deinde tenent mœſti loca, qui ſibi lethum
Inſontes peperere manu, lucemque peroſi

[1] *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 12.

Projecere animas. Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores!

Here he keeps cloſe to the myſteries; which not only forbad *ſuicide*, but taught on what account it was criminal. "That which is ſaid in the MYSTERIES (ſays Plato) concerning theſe matters "of man's being placed in a certain watch or "ſtation, which it is unlawful to fly from, or "forſake, is a profound doctrine, and not eaſily "fathomed [k]."

[k] Ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΙΣ λεγόμενος καὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἐσμὲν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν, οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν, μεγάς τ' τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ οὐ ῥᾴδιος διϊδεῖν. *Phæd.* p. 62. Ser. ed. tom. i. The very learned Mr. Dacier tranſlates ἐν ἀποῤῥήτοις, *dans les myſteres*; and this agreeably to his knowledge of antiquity. For ἀπόῤῥητα was uſed by the ancients, to ſignify not only the grand ſecret taught in the myſteries, but the myſteries themſelves; as appears from innumerable places in their writings. Yet the French tranſlator of Puffendorf's *Law of nature and nations*, lib. ii. cap. 4. § 19. note (1), accuſes him of not underſtanding his author: "Mr. Dacier fait "dire à Platon que *l'on tenoit tous les jours ces diſcours au peuple* "*dans les ceremonies & dans les myſteres.* Il ſeroit à ſouhaiter "qu'il eût allégué quelque autorité pour etablir un fait ſi re- "marquable. Mais il s'agit ici manifeſtement des inſtructions "ſecrétes que les Pythagoriciens donnoient à leurs initiez, & "leſquelles ils decouvroient les raiſons les plus abſtruſes, & les "plus particuliers des dogmes de leur philoſophie. Ces inſtru- "ctions cachées s'appelloient ἀπόῤῥητα — Ce que Platon dit un "peu auparavant de Philoläus, philoſophe Pythagoricien, ne "permit pas de douter que la raiſon, qu'il rapporte ici comme "trop abſtruſe & difficile à comprendre, ne ſoit celle que don- "noient les Pythagoriciens." He ſays, *it were to be wiſhed Dacier had ſome authority for ſo remarkable a fact.* He hath this very paſſage, which is ſufficient; for the word ἀπόῤῥητα can mean no other than the *myſteries*. But thoſe who want further authority, may have enough of it, in the nature and end of the myſteries, as explained above.— He ſays, "It is evident, Plato "is here talking of the ſecret inſtructions which the Pythago- "reans gave to their initiated, in which they diſcovered their "moſt abſtruſe and particular doctrines." This cannot be ſo, for a very plain reaſon. The philoſophy of the Pythagoreans, like that of the other ſects, was divided into the *exoterical* and *eſoterical*; the *open*, taught to all; and the *ſecret*, taught to a

Hitherto

Hitherto all goes well. But what muſt we ſay to the poet's putting *new-born infants*, and *men falſely condemned*, into his purgatory? For though the *faith and inquiſition* of modern Rome ſend many of both ſorts into a place of puniſhment, yet the genius of ancient paganiſm had a gentler aſpect. It is, indeed, difficult to tell what theſe inmates have to do here. Let us conſider the caſe of the *infants*; and if we find it can only be cleared up by the general view of things here offered, this will be conſidered as another argument for the truth of our interpretation.

Continuo *auditæ voces*, *vagitus et ingens*,
Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo:
Quos dulcis vitæ exortes, & ab ubere raptos
Abſtulit atra dies, & *funere* merſit *acerbo*.

ſelect number. But the *impiety of ſuicide* was in the firſt claſs, as a doctrine ſerviceable to ſociety: "Vetatque Pythagoras in-"juſſu imperatoris, id eſt, Dei, de præſidio & ſtatione vitæ de-"cedere," ſays Tully, in his book *Of old age*; who, in his *Dream of Scipio*, written in the *exoteric* way, condemns *ſuicide* for the very ſame reaſon: but in an epiſtle to a particular friend, which certainly was of the *eſoteric* kind, he approves of it; "Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, "fœde perierunt. At Cato PRÆCLARE. Jam iſtuc quidem, "cum volemus, licebit." lib. ix. ep. 18. It could not be, therefore, that the impiety of *ſuicide* ſhould be reckoned amongſt the ἀποῤῥήτα of philoſophy, ſince it was one of their *popular* doctrines. But this will be fuller ſeen, when we come to ſpeak of the philoſophers, in the next book. Mr. Barbeyrac concludes, that "as Plato had ſpoke of Philolaus a little before, "it cannot be doubted but that he ſpeaks of the reaſon againſt "*ſuicide*, as a doctrine of the Pythagorean philoſophy." What has been ſaid above, utterly excludes this interpretation. But though it did not, there is nothing in the context which ſhews, Plato thought of Philolaus in this place. It is allowed, this was a doctrine of the Pythagoric ſchool, though not of the *eſoteric* kind. The Myſteries, and *that*, held a number of things in common; this has been ſhewn, in part, already: and when we come to ſpeak of Pythagoras, it will be ſeen how it happened.

Theſe

Theſe appear to have been the *cries and lamentings* that, Proclus tells us, were heard in the Myſteries[l]. So that we only want to know the original of ſo extraordinary a circumſtance. Which, I take, to have been juſt ſuch another proviſion of the lawgiver for the ſecurity of infancy, as that about *funeral rites* was for the adult. For nothing could more engage parents in the care and preſervation of their young, than ſo terrible a doctrine. Nor are we to imagine, that their natural fondneſs needed no inforcement, or ſupport: for that moſt degenerate and horrid practice among the ancients, of EXPOSING infants, was univerſal[m]; and had almoſt eraſed morality and inſtinct. St. Paul ſeems to have had this in his eye, when he accuſed the pagan world of being *without natural affection*[n]. It needed therefore the ſtrongeſt and ſevereſt check: and I am well perſuaded it occaſioned this counterplot of the magiſtrate, in order to give inſtinct fair play, and call back baniſhed nature. Nothing, indeed, could be more worthy of his care: for the deſtruction of children, as Peri-

[l] Καὶ τοῖς μυσηρίοις τὸν μυσικὸν ΘΡΗΝΟΥΣ μυσικῶς παρειλήφαμεν. In *Comment. in Platonis Remp.* lib. x.

[m] We may well judge it to be ſo, when we find it amongſt the CHINESE (ſee *M. Polo.* lib. ii. cap. 26.) and the ARABIANS, the two people leaſt corrupted by foreign manners, and the vicious cuſtoms of more civilized nations. The Arabians, particularly, living much in a ſtate of nature, where mens wants are few, and conſequently where there is ſmall temptation to this unnatural crime, yet were become ſo prone to it, that their lawgiver Mahomet found it neceſſary to exact an oath of the Arabian women, not to deſtroy their children. The form of this oath is given us by Gagnier, in his notes on Abel-feda's *Life of Mahomet*, and it is in theſe words; "— Ne deo rem "ullam aſſocient; ne furentur; ne fornicentur; NE LIBEROS "SUOS OCCIDANT [metu paupertatis uti habetur *Sur* vi. ℣ "151.] neque inobedientes ſint Apoſtolo Dei, in eo quod "juſtum eſt." p. 41. n. (a)

[n] 1 Cor. i. 31.

cles finely obſerved of youth, is *like cutting off the ſpring from the year*. Accordingly we are told by Diodorus, that the Egyptians had a law [o] againſt this unnatural practice, which law he numbers amongſt the ſingularities of that people. "They "are obliged (ſays he) to bring up all their chil- "dren, in order to render the country popu- "lous, this being eſteemed the beſt means of ma- "king ſtates flouriſhing and happy [p]." And Tacitus ſpeaks of the prohibition as no leſs ſingular amongſt the Jews: "Augendæ multitudini con- "ſulitur. Nam & necare quenquam ex gnatis, "nefas [q]."

Here again Mr. Bayle is much ſcandalized: "The firſt thing which occurred, on the entrance

[o] The Egyptian laws were ſaid to have been of Iſis's own appointment. This will ſhew us with what judgment and addreſs Ovid has told the tale of Lidgus the Cretan, in his *Metamorphoſis*; (of the nature and art of which compoſition more will be obſerved hereafter.) Lidgus (in the ix[th] book, fab. 12.) is repreſented as commanding his pregnant wife Telethuſa, to deſtroy the expected infant, if it proved a female. Yet is this Cretan thus characterized,

vita fidesque
Inculpata fuit ——

His wife, however, as common as ſuch a command was, and as indifferent as it was eſteemed, is much alarmed with the apprehenſion of falling into the cruel ſituation of being obliged to execute it. In this diſtreſs Iſis appears to Telethuſa in a dream, promiſes her aſſiſtance, and orders her to deceive her huſband, and bring up whatever ſhe ſhould be delivered of.

Pone graves curas, mandataque falle mariti;
Nec dubita, cum te partu Lucina levarit,
Tollere quicquid erit ——

The moral of the tale is this, That Egypt had oppoſed very wiſe and humane laws to the horrid practice of infanticide, now become general, and continuing unchecked by all other civil inſtitutions.

[p] Καὶ τὰ γλυκύθυμα πάντα τρέφουσιν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὡς ταύτης μέγιστα συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας ἢ πόλεως. Lib. i. *Hiſtor.*

[q] Tacit. *Hiſt.* lib. v.

" into the other world, was the station assigned to " infants, who cried and lamented without ceas- " ing; and next to that, the station of men un- " justly condemned to death. Now what could " be more shocking or scandalous than the punish- " ment of those little creatures, who had yet com- " mitted no sin, or of those persons whose inno- " cence had been oppressed by calumny[r]?" The first difficulty is already cleared up: the second shall be considered by and by. But it is no wonder Mr. Bayle could not digest this doctrine of the *infants*; for I am much mistaken, if it did not stick with Plato himself; who, relating the *Vision of Erus, the Pamphylian*, concerning the distribution of rewards and punishments in another life, when he comes to the condition of infants, passes it over in these words: — " But of children who died in their " infancy, he reported certain other things NOT " WORTHY TO BE REMEMBRED[s]." Erus's account of what he saw in another world, was a summary of what the Egyptians taught in their mysteries concerning that matter. And I make no doubt but the thing *not worthy to be remembered*, was the doctrine of *infants in purgatory:* which appears to have given Plato much scandal, who did not, at that time at least, reflect upon its original and use.

But now, as to the *falsely condemned*, we must seek another solution:

[r] La premiere chose que l'on rencontroit à l'entrée des Enfers, étoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessoient de pleurer, & puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la mort. Quoi de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine de ces petites creatures, qui n'avoient encore commis nul péche; ou que la peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été opprimée par la calomnie. *Resp. aux Quæst. d'un Prov.* p. 3. cap. xxii.

[s] Τῶν δὲ ἀθῳζ ἡρωμένων, καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντων περὶ ἄλλα ἔλεγεν ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ. *De rep.* lib. x. p. 615. Serr. edit.

Hos juxta, falso damnati crimine mortis;
Nec vero hæ sine sorte datæ, sine judice sedes.
Quæsitor Minos urnam movet: ille silentum
Consiliumque vocat, vitasque & crimina discit.

This designment appears both iniquitous and absurd. The falsely accused[t] are not only in a place of punishment, but, being first delivered under this single predicament, they are afterwards distinguished into two sorts; some as blameable, others as innocent. To clear up this confusion, it will be necessary to transcribe an old story, told by Plato in his *Gorgias*: "This law, concerning mortals, "was enacted in the time of Saturn, and is yet, "and ever will be, in force amongst the Gods; "that he who had lived a just and pious life, should "at his death be carried into the islands of the "blessed, and there possess all kinds of happiness, "untainted with the evils of mortality: but that "he who had lived unjustly and impiously, should "be thrust into a place of punishment, the prison "of divine justice, called Tartarus. Now the "judges, with whom the execution of this law was "intrusted, were, in the time of Saturn, and un-"der the infancy of Jove's government, *living men*, "*sitting in judgment on the living*; and passing sen-"tence on them, upon the day of their decease. "This gave occasion to unjust judgments: on "which account, Pluto, and those to whom the "care of the happy islands was committed, went "to Jupiter, and told him, that men came to them "*wrongfully judged, both when acquitted and when* "*condemned*. To which the Father of the Gods "thus replied: I will put a stop to this evil. These "wrong judgments are partly occasioned by the "corporeal covering of the persons judged; for

[t] Servius, on the place, characterizes them in this manner — "qui sibi per simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt."

"they

" they are tried while living: now many have their " corrupt minds hid under a fair outside, adorned " with birth and riches; and, when they come to " their trial, have witnesses at hand, to testify for " their good life and conversation; this perverts the " process, and blinds the eyes of justice. Besides, " the judges themselves are encumbered with the " same corporeal covering: and eyes and ears, and " an impenetrable tegument of flesh, hinder the " mind from a free exertion of its faculties. All " these, as well their own covering, as the cover- " ing of those they judge, are bars and obstacles to " right judgment. In the first place then, says he, " we are to provide that the fore-knowledge which " they now have of the day of death, be taken " away: and this shall be given in charge to Pro- " metheus; and then provide, that they who come " to judgment, be quite naked [v]: for from hence- " forth they shall not be tried, till they come into " the other world. And as they are to be thus " stripped, it is but fit their judges should await " them there in the same condition; that, at the " arrival of every new inhabitant, soul may look on " soul, and all family relation, and every worldly " ornament being dropt and left behind, righteous " judgment may at length take place. I, there- " fore, who foresaw all these things, before you " felt them, have taken care to constitute my own " sons, the judges: two of them, Minos and Rha- " damanthus, are Asiatics; the third, Æacus, an " European. These, when they die, shall have " their tribunal erected in the shades, *just in that* " part of the highway, where the two roads divide,

[v] This evidently refers to the old Egyptian custom, when the judges beheld and examined their kings naked; ἕτω καὶ ὁ Ἄρχων δικαστὴς ὢν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοτέροις χρόνοις, γυμνὸν ἐθεώρει τὸν βασιλέα. Horapollinis *Hierogl.* lib. i. cap. 40.

" the one leading to the happy islands, the other " to Tartarus. Rhadamanthus shall judge the " Asiatics, and Æacus the Europeans; but to Mi- " nos I give the superior authority of hearing ap- " peals, when any thing obscure or difficult shall " perplex the others' judgments; that every one " may have his abode assigned him with the utmost " equity [w]."

The matter now begins to clear up; and we see plainly, that the circumstance of the *falsely condemned* alludes to this old fable: so that by *falso*

[w] Ἦν ἐν νόμῳ ὅδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρόνου, καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς· τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως καὶ βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν· τὸν δὲ ἀδίκως καὶ ἀθέως, εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσεως ἢ καὶ δίκης δισμωλήριον, ὃ δὴ τάρταρον καλοῦσιν, ἰέναι. Τούτων δὲ δικαστὰς ἐπὶ Κρόνου, καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ τοῦ Διὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχοντος, ζῶντες ἦσαν ζώντων, ἐκείνη ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες ἧ μέλλοιεν τελευτᾶν· κακῶς δὴ αἱ δίκαι ἐκρίνοντο. Ὅτε οὖν Πλούτων καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἥκοντες, ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Δία, ὅτι φοιτῷεν σφὶν ἀνθρωποι ἐκαλέρωσε ἀνάξιοι, εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ζεύς, Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ (ἔφη) παύσω τοῦτο γιγνόμενον· νῦν μὲν γὰρ κακῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γὰρ (ἔφη) οἱ κρινόμενοι κρίνονται· ζῶντες γὰρ κρίνονται, Πολλοὶ δὲ ὧν ψυχαὶ πονηρὰς ἔχοντες, ἠμφιεσμένοι εἰσὶ σώμασι καλοῖς καὶ ῥώμῃ καὶ πλούτῳ· καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἡ κρίσις ᾖ, ἔρχονται αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ μάρτυρες, μαρτυροῦντες ὡς δικαίως βεβιώκασιν. Οἱ οὖν δικασταὶ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἅμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμπεχόμενοι δικάζουσι, πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα προκεκαλυμμένοι· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐπίπροσθεν γίγνεται, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἁμαρτήσματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν κρινομένων. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν (ἔφη) παυστέον ἐστὶ προειδότας αὐτοὺς τὸν θάνατον· νῦν γὰρ προΐσασι· τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ δὴ εἴρηται τῷ Προμηθεῖ, ὅπως οὐ παύσῃ αὐτῶν· ἔπειτα γυμνοὺς κρίνεσθαι ἀπάντων τούτων· τεθνεῶτας γὰρ δεῖ κρίνεσθαι· καὶ τὸν κρίνοντα δεῖ γυμνὸν εἶναι, τεθνεῶτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν θεωρεῖντα, ἐξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἑκάστου, ἐρήμου πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν· καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις ᾖ. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ἐγνωκὼς πρότερος ἢ ὑμεῖς, ἐποιησάμην δικαστὰς υἱεῖς ἐμαυτοῦ· δύο μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Μίνω τε καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυν· ἕνα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, Αἰακόν. Οὗτοι οὖν ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρεον τὼ ὁδώ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ' εἰς τάρταρον· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥαδαμάνθυς κρινεῖ, τὸν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός. Μίνῳ δὲ προσθεῖα δώσω, ἐπιδιακρίνειν, ἐὰν ᾖ ἀπόρρητόν τι τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ἵνα ὡς δικαιοτάτη ἡ κρίσις ᾖ τῆς πορείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Tom. i. p. 523. Serr. Edit.

damnati

damnati crimine mortis (if it be the true reading) VIRGIL did not mean, as one would ſuppoſe, *innocentes addicti morti ob injuſtam calumniam*, but *homines indigne et perperam adjudicati*; not *men falſely condemned*, but *wrongfully judged*, whether to acquittal or conviction; but condemnation being oftenest the ſentence of juſtice, the greater part is put figuratively for the whole.

He who thinks this too licentious a figure, will perhaps be inclined to believe, that the poet might write

Hos juxta, falſo damnati TEMPORE mortis:

which not only points up to the fable, but hints at the original of it; and beſides, agrees beſt with the context. But as the words *tempore mortis* are only to be explained by this paſſage of Plato, a tranſcriber might be eaſily tempted to change them to ſomething more intelligible.

One difficulty only remains; and that, to confeſs the truth, hath ariſen rather from a miſtake of Virgil, than of his reader. We find theſe people yet unjudged, already fixed with other criminals in the aſſigned diſtrict of purgatory. But they are miſplaced, through an overſight of the poet; which, had he lived to perfect the *Æneis*, he would probably have corrected: for the fable tells us they ſhould be ſtationed on the borders of the three diviſions, in that part of the high road that divides itſelf in two, which lead to Tartarus and Elyſium, thus deſcribed by the poet,

Hic locus eſt, partes ubi ſe via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni ſub mœnia tendit:
Hic iter Elyſium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

It only remains to conſider the origin or moral of the fable; which, I think, was this: it was an Egyptian

ptian cuſtom, as we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, for judges to ſit on every man's life, at his interment; to examine his paſt actions, and to condemn and acquit according to the evidence before them. Theſe judges were of the prieſthood; and ſo, it is probable, taught, like the prieſts of the church of Rome, that their decrees were ratified in the other world. Partiality and corruption would, in time, pervert their ſentence; and ſpite and favour prevail over juſtice: As this might ſcandalize the people, it would be found neceſſary to teach, that the ſentence which influenced every one's final doom, was reſerved for a future judicature. However, the prieſt took care that all ſhould not go out of his hands; and when he could be no longer *judge*, he contrived to find his account in turning *evidence*; as may be ſeen by the ſingular caſt of this ancient inſcription: "Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex TESTOR honeſte hunc vixiſſe: manes ejus inveniant quietem[x]."

How much this whole matter needed explaining, we may ſee by what a fine writer makes of it, in a diſcourſe written to illuſtrate Æneas's deſcent into hell: "There are three kinds of perſons (ſays he) deſcribed as being ſituated on the BORDERS; and I can give no reaſon for their being ſtationed there in ſo particular a manner, but becauſe none of them ſeem to have had a proper right to a place among the dead, as not having run out the thread of their days, and finiſhed the term of life that had been allotted them upon earth. The firſt of theſe are the ſouls of infants, who are ſnatched away by untimely ends; the ſecond are of thoſe who are put to death wrongfully, and by an unjuſt ſentence; and the third,

[x] Fabius Celſus *Inſcript. Antiq.* lib. iii.

of

" of thoſe who grew weary of their lives, and laid " violent hands upon themſelves [y]."

After this, follow the epiſodes of Dido and Deïphobus, in imitation of Homer; where we find nothing to our purpoſe, but the ſtrange deſcription of Deïphobus; whoſe mangled phantom is drawn according to the philoſophy of Plato; which teaches that the dead not only retain all the paſſions of the ſoul, but all the marks and blemiſhes of the body [z]. A wild doctrine which Lucian agreeably ridicules in his *Menippus:* who is made to ſay, that he ſaw Socrates in the Shades, buſied at his old trade of *confutation:* but that his legs yet appeared ſwelled from the effects of his laſt deadly potion [a].

Æneas, having paſſed this firſt diviſion, comes now on the confines of TARTARUS; and is inſtructed in what relates to the crimes and puniſhments of the inhabitants.

His guide here more openly declares her office of HIEROPHANT, or interpreter of the myſteries.

Dux inclyte Teucrûm,
Nulli fas caſto ſceleratum inſiſtere limen:
Sed ME *cum lucis* HECATE PRÆFECIT *avernis*,
Ipſa Deûm pœnas DOCUIT, *perque omnia* DUXIT.

It is remarkable, that Æneas is led through the regions of Purgatory and Elyſium; but he only ſees the ſights of Tartarus at a diſtance, and this could not be otherwiſe in the ſhews of the Myſteries, for very obvious reaſons.

The criminals deſtined to eternal puniſhment, in this diviſion, are,

[y] Mr. Addiſon's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 300, quarto edit. 1721.

[z] Μαρτυρίας αὖ εἴτις ἦν, καὶ ἴχνη εἶχε τῶν πληγῶν ἁλοὺς ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἢ ὑπὸ μαστίγων ἢ ἄλλων τραυμάτων ζῶν, καὶ τεθνεῶτος τὸ σῶμα δῆλον ἦν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα ἔχον· καλεῖτο δὲ ἡ μὲν, ἡ διεγραμμένα ζῶντος, καὶ τεθνεῶτος ταῦτα ἔνθηλα· ἐπὶ δὲ λόγῳ οἱῳ ἦν παρεσκεύαστο τὸ σῶμα ζῶν, ἔνθηλα ταῦτα καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἦν πάλαι, ἢ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπί τινα χρόνον. *Georg.* p. 524.

[a] Ἔτι μέντοι ἐπεφύκητο αὐτῷ, καὶ διωδύκει ἐκ τῶν φαρμακοπωλίας τὰ σκέλη.

1. Thoſe who had *ſinned ſo ſecretly as to eſcape the animadverſion of the magiſtrate:*

Gnoſſius hæc Rhadamanthus habet duriſſima regna:
Caſtigatque auditque dolos, *ſubegitque fateri*
Quæ quis apud ſuperos, *furto* lætatus inani,
Diſtulit in ſeram commiſſa piacula mortem.

And it was principally on account of ſuch crimes that the legiſlator inforced the doctrine of a future ſtate of puniſhment. But it is worth while to obſerve, that, according to this doctrine, the RACK to extort confeſſion, came originally from the place of the Damned, where only it could be equitably applied.

2. Thoſe whoſe principles diſſolve the firſt bonds of aſſociation and ſociety, the ATHEISTS and the *deſpiſers of God and religion:*

Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes.

This was agreeable to the laws of Charondas, who ſays: "Be the contempt of the Gods put in the "number of the moſt flagitious crimes[a]." The poet dwells particularly on that ſpecies of impiety which affects divine honours:

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammas Jovis & ſonitus imitatur Olympi.

And this without doubt, was an oblique caſtigation of the Apotheoſis, then beginning to be paid and received at Rome.

3. The *infringers of the duties of* IMPERFECT *obligation, which civil laws cannot reach:* ſuch as thoſe without natural affection to brothers, duty to parents, protection to clients, or charity to the poor:

Hic quibus inviſi fratres, dum vita manebat;
Pulſatusve parens; & fraus innexa clienti[b];

[a] Ἐγω δὲ μέγιστα ἀδικήματα θεῶν καταφρόνησις. apud Stobæi *Serm.* xlii.

[b] So the law of the *Twelve Tables:* PATRONUS SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.

Au

Aut qui divitiis ſoli incubuere repertis,
Nec partem poſuere ſuis; quæ maxima turba eſt.

4. Thoſe peſts of public and private peace, the TRAYTOR and the ADULTERER, with all their various ſpawn.

Quique ob adulterium cæſi, quique arma ſecuti
Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras —
Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Impoſuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit.
Hic thalamum invaſit natæ, vetitosque hymenæos.

It is obſervable, he does not ſay, ſimply, *adulteri*, but *ob adulterium cæſi*; as implying, that the greateſt civil puniſhment makes no atonement for this crime at the bar of divine juſtice.

5. The *invaders and* VIOLATORS *of the holy myſteries*, held out in the perſon of Theſeus, make the fifth and laſt claſs of offenders.

Sedet, æternumque ſedebit
Infelix Theſeus; Phlegyasque[c] miſerrimus omnes
Admonet, & magna teſtatur voce per umbras:
DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS.

The fable ſays, that Theſeus and his friend Pirithous formed a deſign to ſteal Proſerpine from hell; but being taken in the fact, Pirithous was thrown to the dog Cerberus, and Theſeus kept in chains[d], till he was delivered by Hercules: which without doubt means the death of one, and the impriſonment of the other, for their

[c] The Phlegyæ here mentioned, I take to be thoſe people of Bœotia ſpoken of by Pauſanias, who attempting to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi, were deſtroyed by lightening, earthquakes, and peſtilence; hence Phlegyæ, I ſuppoſe, ſignified impious, ſacrilegious perſons in general; and is ſo to be underſtood in this place.

[d] Καλασχεθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, Πειρίθοον μὲν ἐδάθη τῷ τριπλοειδεῖ τῷ κυνὶ, Θησεὺς δ' εἱρκτῇ κρατεῖται.
Jo. Tzetzes, *C.* ii. cap. 51.

clandeſtine

clandeſtine intruſion into the Myſteries. We have already offered ſeveral reaſons, to ſhew that the deſcent of Theſeus into hell, was a *violation of the Myſteries:* to which we may add what the ancients tell us of the duration of his impriſonment, which was four years; the interim between the celebrations of the greater myſteries. So Seneca the tragedian makes him ſay:

Tandem profugi noctis æternæ plagam,
Vaſtoque manes carcere umbrantem polum.
Ut vix cupitum ſufferunt oculi diem!
Jam QUARTA *Eleuſis* dona Triptolemi ſecat,
Paremque toties Libra compoſuit diem;
Ambiguus ut me ſortis ignaræ labor
Detinuit inter mortis & vitæ mala[e].

This may reconcile the contradictory accounts of the fable concerning Theſeus; ſome of which ſay he was delivered from hell; others, that he was eternally detained there. The *firſt* relates to the liberty given him by the preſident of the Myſteries at the enſuing celebration: the *other*, to what the Myſteries taught was his lot, and the lot of all the violators of them, in the other world. This leads us to a circumſtance which will much confirm the general interpretation of this famous book. In Æneas's ſpeech to the Sibyl, Theſeus is put amongſt thoſe heroes who went to, and returned from, hell:

Quid Theſea magnum,
Quid memorem Alciden? —

But in the place before us he is repreſented as confined there eternally. Julius Hyginus, in his *Commentaries on Virgil*[f], thinks this a groſs contradiction; which Virgil would have corrected, had he lived to finiſh the poem. But can it be ſuppoſed, the poet was not aware of this, in two paſſages ſo

[e] *Hippol.*

[f] A. Gellii *Noct. Att.* lib. x. cap. 16.

near

near one another, in the ſame book? In truth, his employing theſe differing circumſtances, confirms the general interpretation; and the general interpretation helps to reconcile the difference. Æneas wanted to be *initiated*; and when he ſpeaks to the Sibyl, or *myſtagogue*, he enumerates thoſe heroes who had been initiated before him; that is, ſuch who had ſeen the ſhews of the myſteries, of which number was Theſeus, though he had intruded violently. But when Virgil comes to deſcribe theſe Shews, which were ſuppoſed to be a true repreſentation of what was done and ſuffered in hell, Theſeus is put among the damned, that being his ſtation in the other world.

This will remind the learned reader of a ſtory told by Livy. "The Athenians (ſays he) drew "upon themſelves a war with Philip, on a very "ſlight occaſion; and at a time when nothing re- "mained of their ancient fortune, but their high "ſpirit. Two young Acarnanians, during the "days of INITIATION, themſelves *uninitiated*, and "ignorant of all that related to that *ſecret worſhip*, "entered the temple of Ceres along with the "crowd. Their diſcourſe ſoon betrayed them; "as making ſome abſurd enquiries into what they "ſaw: ſo being brought before the preſident of "the Myſteries, although it was evident they had "entered ignorantly and without deſign, they "were put to death, as guilty of a moſt abomin- "able crime."

g Contraxerant autem cum Philippo bellum Athenienſes haudquaquam digna cauſa, dum ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos ſervant. Acarnanes duo juvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris, imprudentes religionis, cum cetera turba ingreſſi ſunt. Facile eos ſermo prodidit, abſurde quædam percunctantes; deductique ad antiſtites templi cum palam eſſet per errorem ingreſſos, tanquam ob infandum ſcelus, interfecti ſunt. *Hiſt.* lib. xxxi.

The office Theſeus is put upon, of admoniſhing his hearers againſt *impiety*, could not, ſure, be diſcharged in theſe *ſhews* by any one ſo well, as by him who repreſented the violator of them. But the critics, unconſcious of any ſuch deſign, conſidered the taſk the poet has impoſed on Theſeus, of perpetually ſounding in the ears of the damned, this admonition:

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS,

as a very impertinent employment. For though it was a ſentence of great truth and dignity, it was preached to very little purpoſe amongſt thoſe, to whom there was no room for pardon or remiſſion.

Even the ridiculous Scarron hath not neglected to urge this objection againſt it[h]: and it muſt be owned, that, according to the common ideas of Æneas's deſcent into hell, the objection is not eaſily got over.

But, ſuppoſe Virgil to be here relating the admonitory maxims delivered during the celebration of theſe *myſtic ſhews*, and nothing could be more juſt or uſeful: for then the diſcourſe was addreſſed to the *vaſt multitude of living ſpectators*. Nor is it a mere ſuppoſition that ſuch diſcourſes made part of theſe repreſentations. Ariſtides expreſly ſays[i], that in no place were more aſtoniſhing words pronounced or ſung, than in theſe *myſteries*; the reaſon, he tells us, was, that the *ſounds* and the *ſights* might mutually aſſiſt each other in making an impreſſion on the minds of the *initiated*. But, from a paſſage in Pindar, I conclude, that in theſe ſhews

[h] Cette ſentence eſt bonne & belle,
Mais en Enfer de quoi ſert-elle?

[i] Τίνι δ' ἄλλῳ χωρίων, ἢ μύθων φῆμαι θαυμαστότερα ἐφθέγξαντο, ἢ τὸ δρώμενα μείζω ἔσχε τὴν ἔκπληξιν, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰς ἐφάμιλλον καθέστη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὰ ὁρώμενα; *Eleuſ.*

(from

(from whence men took their ideas of the infernal regions) it was cuſtomary for each offender, as he paſſed by, in machinery, to make an admonition againſt his own crime. "It is reported (ſays Pindar) that Ixion, by the decrees of the Gods, while "he is inceſſantly turning round his rapid wheel, "calls out upon MORTALS to this effect, That "they ſhould be always at hand to repay a bene-"factor for the kindneſſes he had done them[k]." Where the word BPOTOI, *living men*, ſeems plainly to ſhew that the ſpeech was at firſt made before men in this world.

The poet cloſes his catalogue of the damned with theſe words:

Auſi omnes immane nefas, AUSOQUE POTITI.

For the ancients thought that an action was ſanctified by the ſucceſs; which they eſteemed a mark of the favour and approbation of heaven. As this was a very pernicious opinion, it was neceſſary to teach, that the imperial villain who trampled on his country, and the baffled plotter who expired on a gibbet, were equally the objects of divine vengeance.

Æneas has now paſſed through *Tartarus*; and here end the LESSER MYSTERIES. Their original explains why this ſort of *ſhews* was exhibited in them. We are told, they were inſtituted for the ſake of Hercules, when about to perform his eleventh labour, of fetching Cerberus from hell[l], and were under the preſidency of *Proſerpine*[m].

k Θεῶν δ' ἐφέλμαῖσιν
Ἰξίονα φανὶ ταῦτα
Βροτοῖς λέγειν, ἐν ᾧ τερόεντι τροχῷ
Παλτὰ κυλινδόμενον,
Τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς
Ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι. *2 Pyth.*

l οἱ Ἐλευσίνιοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ μικρὰ ἐποιήσαντο μυστήρια — Ἐμυήθη ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τὰ δι' αὐτὸν [Ἡρακλέα] λεγόμενα ΜΙΚΡΑ μυστήρια. Tzetz. in *Lycoph.*

m τὰ δ' μικρὰ Περσεφόνης — *Schol. Ariſtoph. ad Plut. ſecund.*

He

The Hero advances to the borders of Elysium, and here he undergoes the *luſtration:*

Occupat Æneas aditum, *corpusque recenti*
Spargit aqua, ramumque adverſo in limine figit.

" Being now about to undergo the luſtrations (ſays " Sopater) which immediately precede initiation " into the greater myſteries, they called me hap- " py [n]."

Accordingly, Æneas now enters on the GREATER MYSTERIES, and comes to the abodes of the bleſſed:

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedesque beatas:
Largior hic campos æther, & lumine veſtit
Purpureo: ſolemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt.

Theſe two ſo different ſcenes explain what Ariſtides meant, when he called the ſhews of the *Eleuſinian* myſteries, *that moſt ſhocking, and, at the ſame time, moſt raviſhing repreſentation* [o].

The initiated, who till now only bore the name of Μύσαι, are called ΕΠΟΠΤΑΙ, and this new viſion, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ. " The Αὐτοψία, or the ſeeing with " their own eyes (ſays Pſellus) is when he who is " initiated beholds the divine lights [p]."

In theſe very circumſtances Themiſtius deſcribes the initiated, when juſt entered upon this ſcene. " It being thoroughly purified, he now diſcloſes " to the initiated, a region [q] all over illuminated,

[n] Μέλλων δὲ τοῖς καθαρσίοις, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελεῖῆς, ἐνίυ χαίειν, ἐκάλεν εὐδαίμονα ἐμαυτόν. In *Diviſ. Quæſt.*

[o] τῆτον φρικαδέςαλόν τε καὶ φαιδρόταλον. *Eleuſ.*

[p] Αὐτοψία ἐςὶν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ὁ τελέμενος τὰ θεῖα φῶτα ὁρᾷ. In *Schol.* in *Orac.* Zoroaſt.

[q] This which was *all over illuminated*, and which the prieſt had *thoroughly purified*, was ἄγαλμα, an image. The reaſon of transferring what is ſaid of the illumination of the *image*, to the illumination of the region, is, becauſe this image repreſented the appearances of the divine Being, in one large, uniform, ex- " and

" and shining with a divine splendor. The cloud " and thick darkness are dispersed[r]; and the mind " emerges, as it were, into day, full of light " and chearfulness, as before, of disconsolate ob- " scurity[s]."

tensive light. Thus Jamblichus *De mysteriis:* Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα τῶν αὐτοφανῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ λόγους ἀφορισόμεθα· ἡκοῦν ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν Θεῶν ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑΙΣ, ἐνεργέστερα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁρᾶται τὰ θεάματα, ἀκριβῶς τε ἀμιλάμπῃ, καὶ διηρθρωμένα λαμπρῶς ἐκφαίνεται. — And again, Ὡσαύτως τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΩΤΟΣ· τὰ μὲν τῶν Θεῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ φωτὸς πλέον ἀγράπτῃ — τὸ μὲν τῶν Θεῶν πῦρ, ἄτομον, ἀφθεγκτὸν ἐκλάμπει. καὶ πληροῖ τὰ ὅλα βάθη τῇ κόσμῳ πυρίως, ἀλλ' ἐ πεικοσμίως. § ii. cap. 4. He says, too, that it was *without figure*, ψυχῆς δὲ τῆς μὲν ὅλης, καὶ ἐν ὕδατι τῶν κατὰ μέρος εἴδει καλεχομένης πῦρ ὁρᾶται ἀνείδεον — cap. 7. To this image, the following lines in the *Oracles* of Zoroaster allude:

Μὴ φύσεως καλέσῃς ΑΥΤΟΠΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ,
Οὐ γὰρ χρὴ κείνης σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗι.

" Invoke not the self conspicuous image of nature, for thou " must not behold these things before thy body be purified by " initiation." This αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα was only a diffusive shining light, as the name partly declares, thus described presently after, in the same *Oracles:*

Ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐίερον πῦρ,
Λαμπόμενον σκιρτηδὸν ὅλῃ καθ' βένθεα κόσμου,
Κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνήν.

And the *sight* of this divine splendor was what the mysteries called, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ.

[r] Pletho tells us with what these clouds were accompanied, viz. thunder and lightning, and other meteoric appearances. Τὰ δὲ τελεμένοις φαινόμενα, κεραυνοὶ, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο, σύμβολα ἄλλως ἐστὶν, ἢ θεῖά τις φύσις. In *Schol. ad Orac. Mag. Zor.* He says they were symbols, but not of the nature of the deity: and this was true; for the symbol of that was the αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα which followed: Hence, as we see above, it was *without figure.*

[s] — ὑποσμήξας παλαχόθεν, ἐπεδείκνυ τῷ μυουμένῳ μαρμαρύσσον τε ἦδη, καὶ αὐγῇ καλαλαμπόμενον θεσπεσίᾳ, ἥτε ὁμίχλη ἐκείνη, καὶ τὸ νέφος ἀθρόον ὑπερῆγνυτο· καὶ ἐξεφαίνετο ὁ νεὼς ἐκ τοῦ βάθους, φέγγει, ἀναπλεως καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον σκότου. *Orat. in Patrem.*

Let me obſerve, that the lines

Largior hic campos æther & lumine veſtit
Purpureo: SOLEMque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt,

are in the very language of thoſe, who profeſs to tell us what they ſaw at their *initiation into the greater myſteries.* "Nocte media vidi SOLEM *candido* co-"ruſcantem lumine[t]," ſays Apuleius on that occaſion.

Here Virgil, by leaving his maſter, and copying the amiable paintings of Elyſium, as they were repreſented in the *myſteries*, hath artfully avoided a fault, too juſtly objected to Homer, of giving ſo dark and joyleſs a landſcape of the *fortunata nemora*, as could raiſe no deſire or appetite for them: his favourite hero himſelf, who poſſeſſed them, telling Ulyſſes, that he had rather be a day-labourer above, than command in the regions of the dead. Such a repreſentation defeats the very intent of the lawgiver, in propagating the doctrine of a future ſtate. Nay, to mortify every excitement to noble actions, the Greek poet makes reputation, fame, and glory, the great ſpur to virtue in the pagan ſyſtem, to be viſionary and impertinent. On the contrary, Virgil, whoſe aim, in this poem, was the good of ſociety, makes the love of glory ſo ſtrong a paſſion in the other world, that the Sibyl's promiſe to Palinurus, that his NAME ſhould be only affixed to a promontory, rejoices his ſhade even in the regions of the unhappy:

Æternumque locus Palinuri *nomen* habebit:
His dictis curæ emotæ, pulſusque parumper
Corde dolor triſti; *gaudet cognomine terra.*

It was this ungracious deſcription of Elyſium, and the licentious ſtories of the Gods (both ſo perni-

[t] *Met.* l. xi.

cious

cious to ſociety) that made Plato baniſh Homer out of his republic.

But to return. The poet having deſcribed the climate of the happy regions, ſpeaks next of the amuſements of its inhabitants.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris;
Contendunt ludo, & fulva luctantur arena.

Beſides the obvious alluſion, in theſe lines, to the philoſophy of Plato, concerning the duration of the paſſions, it ſeems to have a more ſecret one to what he had all the way in his eye, the *Eleuſinian* myſteries; whoſe celebration was accompanied with the Grecian GAMES [v]. On which account too, perhaps it was that, in the diſpoſition of his work, his *fifth* book is employed in the *games*, as a prelude to the *deſcent* in the *ſixth*.

1. The firſt place, in theſe happy regions, is aſſigned to the LAWGIVERS, *and thoſe who brought mankind from a ſtate of nature into ſociety:*

Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis.

At the head of theſe is Orpheus, the moſt renowned of the European lawgivers; but better known under the character of poet: for the firſt laws being written in meaſure, to allure men to learn them, and, when learnt, to retain them, the fable would have it, that by the force of harmony, Orpheus ſoftened the ſavage inhabitants of Thrace:

Threicius longa cum veſte ſacerdos
Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum.

But he has the firſt place; becauſe he was not only

[v] Ἐδόξασαι πάντων οἱ καλὸν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγῶνες. καὶ μὴν τούτων πρεσβύταται ὁ τῶν Παναθηναίων· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὁ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. *Ariſtides Panath.* — Μυηθῆναι δὲ ξένων πρώτους Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Διοσκούρους· ἀγῶνά τε γυμνικὸν ἡγεῖσθαι πρῶτον Ἐλευσῖνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. *Idem Eleuſin.*

a Legiſlator, but the bringer of the myſteries into that part of Europe.

2. The next is allotted to PATRIOTS, *and thoſe who died for the ſervice of their country:*

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi.

3. The third to *virtuous and pious* PRIESTS:

Quique ſacerdotes caſti, dum vita manebat;
Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

For it was of principal uſe to ſociety, that religious men ſhould lead holy lives; and that they ſhould teach nothing of the Gods but what was agreeable to the divine nature.

4. The laſt place is given to the INVENTORS OF ARTS *mechanical and liberal*:

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes:
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

The order is exact and beautiful. The firſt claſs is of thoſe who FOUNDED ſociety, heroes and lawgivers: the ſecond, of thoſe who SUPPORTED it, patriots and holy prieſts: and the third, of thoſe who ADORNED it, the inventors of the arts of life, and the recorders of worthy actions.

Virgil has all along cloſely followed the *doctrine* of the *myſteries*, which carefully taught that virtue only could entitle men to happineſs; and that rites, ceremonies, luſtrations and ſacrifices would not ſupply the want of it.

Nor has he been leſs ſtudious in copying their *ſhews* and *repreſentations*; in which the figures of thoſe heroes and heroines, who were moſt celebrated in the writings of the ancient Greek authors, paſſed in proceſſion [w].

[w] — ὅσα μὲν δὴ θέας ἐχόμενα εἶδον γενεαὶ σαμπληθεῖς δυδαιμόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις φάσμασιν· ἃ δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον ποιηταὶ, καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πάντες ὑμνοῦσι. — *Ariſtid.*

But,

But, notwithſtanding this entire conformity between the poet's ſcenes and thoſe repreſented in the *myſteries*, ſomething is ſtill wanting to complete the identification: and that is, the famous SECRET of the *myſteries*, THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD, of which ſo much hath been ſaid above. Had Virgil neglected to give us this characteriſtic mark, though, even then, we could not but ſay, his intention was *to repreſent an initiation*; yet we muſt have been forced to own he had not done it with the utmoſt art. But he was too good a painter, to leave any thing ambiguous; and hath therefore concluded his hero's *initiation*, as was the cuſtom, with inſtructing him in the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or the doctrine of the UNITY. Till this was done, the *initiated* was not arrived to the higheſt ſtage of perfection; nor, in the fulleſt ſenſe, intitled to the appellation of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ.

Muſæus, therefore, who had been *hierophant* at Athens, takes the place of the Sibyl (as it was the cuſtom to have different guides in different parts of the celebration) and is made to conduct him to the receſs, where his father's ſhade opens to him the hidden doctrine of perfection, in theſe ſublime words;

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque aſtra
SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT, totamque infuſa per artus
MENS agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monſtra ſub æquore pontus.

This was no other than the doctrine of the old Egyptians, as we are aſſured by Plato; who ſays

they taught that Jupiter was the SPIRIT WHICH PERVADETH ALL THINGS [x].

We have ſhewn how eaſily the Greek Philoſophy corrupted this *principle* into (what is now called) *Spinoziſm* [y]. Here Virgil has approved his judgment to great advantage. Nothing was more abhorrent from the myſteries, than *Spinoziſm*, as it overturned [z] the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which the myſteries ſo carefully inculcated; and yet the *principle* itſelf, of which Spinoziſm was the abuſe, was cheriſhed there, as it was the conſequence of the doctrine of the *unity*, the grand *ſecret* of the *myſteries*. Virgil, therefore, delivers the principle, with great caution, and pure and free of the abuſe; though he underſtood the nature of Spinoziſm, and (by the following lines in his fourth *Georgic*, where he delivers it) appears to have been infected with it.

—— Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas.
Scilicet HUC REDDI DENIQUE AC RESOLUTA REFERRI
OMNIA —

However, the myſteries did not teach the doctrine of the unity for mere ſpeculation; but, as we ſaid before, to obviate certain miſchiefs of polytheiſm, and to ſupport the belief of a provi-

[x] Ἰδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τούτων παλαίτερα· ἦν δὲ τὰ Αἰγύπτια· τὴν Ἶσιν φασὶ &c. — καὶ Δία μὲν, τὸ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΟΥΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ. *In Cratylo.*

[y] Book iii. Sect. 4. [z] See Book iii. Sect. 3 & 4.

dence.

dence. Now, as a *future* ſtate of rewards and puniſhments did not quite remove the objections to it's inequalities here, they added to it the doctrine of the METEMPSYCHOSIS, or the belief of a *prior ſtate*[a]. And this, likewiſe, our poet has been careful to record. For after having revealed the great *ſecret* of the *unity*, he goes on to ſpeak of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration, in this manner;

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno
Scilicet immemores ſupera ut convexa reviſant,
Rurſus & incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

And thence takes occaſion to explain the nature and uſe of *purgatory*, which, in his hero's paſſage through that region, had not been done: this affords him too an opportunity for that noble epiſode, the proceſſion of the hero's poſterity, which paſſes in review before him: And with this the ſcene cloſes. One might well allow Virgil the uſe of ſo important a digreſſion, (conſidering whom it was he celebrated under the character of Æneas) though it had been foreign to the nature of the myſteries he is deſcribing. But indeed he was even here following their cuſtoms very cloſely. It was then, and had been for ſome time, the practice of the myſteries, when communicated to any aſpirant of diſtinguiſhed quality, to exhibit to him, in their *ſhews* and *repreſentations*, ſomething relating to his own fortune and affairs. Thus Himerius tells us, that Olympia, on her recovery from the birth of Alexander, was initiated into the *Samothracian* my-

[a] Vid. Porph. *de Abſt.* l. iv. ſect. 16. et Cic. Fragm. ex lib. *de Philoſophia.*

ſteries: Where, in the *ſhews*, ſhe ſaw her huſband Philip, at that time in Potidæa [b].

In attending the hero's progreſs through the three eſtates of the dead, we have ſhewn, from ſome ancient author, at almoſt every ſtep, the exact conformity of his adventures to thoſe of the initiated in the myſteries. We ſhall now collect theſe ſcattered lights to a point; which will, I am perſuaded, throw ſuch a luſtre on this interpretation, as to make the truth of it irreſiſtible. To this purpoſe, I ſhall have nothing to do, but to tranſcribe a paſſage from an ancient writer, preſerved by Stobæus; which profeſſes to explain the exact conformity between DEATH, or a real deſcent to the infernal regions, and INITIATION, where the repreſentation of thoſe regions was exhibited. His words are theſe: THE MIND IS AFFECTED AND AGITATED IN DEATH, JUST AS IT IS IN INITIATION INTO THE GRAND MYSTERIES. AND WORD ANSWERS TO WORD AS WELL AS THING TO THING: FOR ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΝ IS TO DIE; AND ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ, TO BE INITIATED. THE FIRST STAGE IS NOTHING BUT ERRORS AND UNCERTAINTIES; LABORIOUS WANDERINGS; A RUDE AND FEARFUL MARCH THROUGH NIGHT AND DARKNESS. AND NOW ARRIVED ON THE VERGE OF DEATH AND INITIATION, EVERY THING WEARS A DREADFUL ASPECT: IT IS ALL HORROR, TREMBLING, SWEATING, AND AFFRIGHTMENT. BUT THIS SCENE ONCE OVER, A MIRACULOUS AND DIVINE LIGHT DISPLAYS

[b] Λέγεται πῶλε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρε τόκοις δυσδαίμονα ὀργιάζεσαν τὰ Καβείρων ἐν Σαμοθρᾴκη μυστήρια, ἰδεῖν καλὸς τὴν τελείην τὸν Φίλιππον. *In Eclog. Declam. apud Photium*, Cod. 165, 243.

IT-

ITSELF; AND SHINING PLAINS AND FLOWERY MEADOWS OPEN ON ALL HANDS BEFORE THEM. HERE THEY ARE ENTERTAINED WITH HYMNS, AND DANCES, WITH THE SUBLIME DOCTRINES OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE, AND WITH REVEREND AND HOLY VISIONS. AND NOW BECOME PERFECT AND INITIATED, THEY ARE FREE, AND NO LONGER UNDER RESTRAINTS; BUT CROWNED AND TRIUMPHANT, THEY WALK UP AND DOWN THE REGIONS OF THE BLESSED; CONVERSE WITH PURE AND HOLY MEN; AND CELEBRATE THE SACRED MYSTERIES AT PLEASURE [c].

The progress finished, and every thing over, Æneas and his guide are let out again to the upper regions, through the ivory gate of *dreams*. A circumstance borrowed from Homer, and very

[c] Τὸ δὲ πάσχειν πάθος, οἷον οἱ τελεταῖς μεγάλαις καλοργιαζόμενοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τῷ ῥήματι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῷ ἔργῳ τῆ τελευτᾶν καὶ τελεῖσθαι προσέοικε, πλανᾶι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ φοβεροὶ κοπώδεις, καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὕποπλοι πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι· εἶτα πρὸ τῆ τέλους αὐτῆ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, ῥῖγος, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἱδρὼς, καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου, φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπηντήσεν, ἢ τόποι καθαροὶ, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωναὶ καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότητας ἀκουσμάτων ἱερῶν, καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἔχοντες· ἐν αἷς ὁ παντελὴς ἤδη καὶ μεμυημένος ἐλεύθερος γεγονὼς, καὶ ἄφετος πορεύων ἐστεφανωμένος ὀργιάζει· καὶ συνέστιος ὁσίοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. *Sermo* cxix. The Son of Sirach, who was full of Grecian ideas, and hath embellished his admirable work of ECCLESIASTICUS with a great deal of Gentile learning, hath plainly alluded, tho' in few words, to these circumstances of INITIATION, where encouraging men to seek after *wisdom*, he says: — "At first she will walk with "him by CROOKED ways, and bring FEAR and DREAD upon "him, and *torment him with her discipline*, until she may "TRUST his soul, and *try* him by her laws. Then will she "return the STRAIGHT way unto him, and COMFORT him. "and shew him her SECRETS." — διεγραμμένως προσέρχεται μετ' αὐτῆ ἐν πρώτοις· ΦΟΒΟΝ δὲ καὶ ΔΕΙΛΙΑΝ ἐπάξει ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ βασανίσει αὐτὸν ἐν παιδιᾷ αὐτῆς, ἕως ἂ ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗι τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτῆ· καὶ πειράσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτῆς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπανήξει κατ' εὐθεῖαν πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕΙ αὐτὸν, καὶ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΕΙ αὐτῷ τὰ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ αὐτῆς. Chap. iv. ℣ 17, 18.

happily

happily applied to this ſubject; for, as Euripides elegantly expreſſes it,

Ὕπνῳ τὰ ΜΙΚΡΑ τῷ θανάτῳ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ.

A *dream* is the LESSER MYSTERIES of *death.*

But, beſides this of *ivory*, there was another of *horn.* Through the firſt iſſued *falſe* viſions; and through the latter, *true.*

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ: quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua *veris* facilis datur exitus umbris:
Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed *falſa* ad cœlum mittunt inſomnia manes.
His ubi tum natum *Anchiſes*, unaque Sibyllam
Proſequitur dictis, *portaque emittit eburna.*

Servius, with the ſpirit of a rank grammarian, who ſeldom finds any thing to ſtop at but a ſoleciſm in expreſſion, ſays very readily, "Vult autem intel-"ligi, falſa eſſe omnia quæ dixit. He would have "you underſtand by this, that all he has been "ſaying is falſe and groundleſs." The following critics give the ſame ſolution. Ruæus, one of the beſt, may ſpeak for them all: "Cum igitur Vir-"gilius Æneam eburnea porta emittit, indicat "profecto, quidquid a ſe de illo inferorum aditu "dictum eſt, in fabulis eſſe numerandum." This interpretation is ſtrengthened by Virgil's being an Epicurean; and making the ſame concluſion in his ſecond *Georgic:*

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas,
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, *ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari!*

But Virgil wrote, not for the amuſement of women and children over a winter's fire, in the taſte of the *Mileſian fables*; but for the uſe of men and citizens; to inſtruct them in the duties of humanity and ſociety. The purpoſe, therefore, of ſuch a writer,

writer, when he treats of a *future ſtate*, muſt be to make the doctrine intereſting to his reader, and uſeful in civil life: Virgil hath done the firſt, by bringing his Hero to it thro' the moſt perilous atchievement; and the ſecond, by appropriating the rewards and puniſhments of that ſtate to *virtue* and to *vice* only. Now if we will believe theſe critics, when the poet had laboured through a whole book, and employed all his art and genius to compaſs this important end, he fooliſhly defeats his whole deſign with one wanton daſh of his pen, which ſpeaks to this effect: "I "have laboured, countrymen, to draw you to "virtue, and to deter you from vice, in or"der to make particulars and ſocieties flouriſh"ing and happy. The truths inforced to this "purpoſe, I have endeavoured to recommend by "the example of your anceſtor and founder, Æ"neas; of whom (to do you the more credit) I "have made an accompliſhed hero; and have "ſet him on the moſt arduous and illuſtrious un"dertaking, the eſtabliſhment of a civil commu"nity: and to ſanctify his character, and add re"verence to his laws, I have ſent him upon the "errand you ſee here related. But, leſt the bu"ſineſs ſhould do you any ſervice, or my hero "any honour, I muſt inform you, that all this "talk of a *future ſtate* is a childiſh tale, and Æ"neas's part in it, only a fairy adventure. In a "word, all that you have heard, muſt paſs for a "lenten dream, from which you are to draw no "conſequences, but that the poet was in a capri"cious humour, and diſpoſed to laugh at your "ſuperſtitions." Thus is Virgil made to ſpeak in the interpretation of ancient and modern critics[d].

[d] This abſurdity did not eſcape the learned Dacier, who, in his note on *porta fugiens eburna*, l. iii. Od. xxvii. of Ho-

And

And this the concluſion he was pleaſed to give to the maſter-piece of all his writings.

The truth is, the difficulty can never be gotten over, but by ſuppoſing the *deſcent* to ſignify *an initiation into the myſteries.* This will unriddle the enigma, and reſtore the poet to himſelf. And if this was Virgil's meaning, it is to be preſumed, he would give ſome private mark to aſcertain it: for which no place was ſo proper as the concluſion. He has, therefore, with a beauty of invention peculiar to himſelf, made this fine improvement on Homer's ſtory of the two gates; and imagining that of horn for true viſions, and that of ivory for falſe, inſinuates by the firſt the *reality* of another ſtate; and by the ſecond, the *ſhadowy* repreſentations of it in the ſhews of the *myſteries:* ſo that, not the things objected to Æneas, but the ſcenes of them only, were falſe; as they lay not in HELL, but in the TEMPLE OF CERES. This repreſentation being called ΜΥΘΟΣ, κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this we propoſe as the true meaning of

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:
Sed FALSA ad cœlum mittunt inſomnia manes.

For, *falſa inſomnia* do not ſignify *lying*, but, *ſhadowy dreams.* Thus the Roman widow, in the famous ſepulchral inſcription[e], begs the Dii ma-

race, ſays, — Mais ce qu'il y a d'etonnant, c'eſt que Virgile fait ſortir Anchiſe par la port d'yvoire, qui eſt celle des faux ſonges; par la il detruit toutes les grandes choſes qu'il a dites de Rome & d'Auguſte.

[e] ITA PETO VOS MANES
SANCTISSIMI
COMMENDATVM HABEATIS
MEVM CONIVGEM ET VEL-
LITIS
HVIC INDVLGENTISSIMI ESSE

nes

nes to be ſo indulgent to her huſband's ſhade, that ſhe may ſee him in her dreams; that is, ſeem to ſee him, as the ſhade of Hector was ſeen by Æneas,

In ſomnis ecce ante oculos mœſtiſſimus Hector
Viſus adeſſe mihi ——

and this, in diſtinction to what ſhe makes the other part of her prayer, to be *really* joined to him in the other world.

But though the viſions which iſſued from the ivory gate were *unſubſtantial*, as being only repreſentative; yet I make no queſtion, but the ivory gate itſelf was *real*. It appears, indeed, to be no other than that ſumptuous door of the temple, through which the *initiated* came out, when the *celebration* was over. This temple was of an immenſe bigneſs, as appears from the words of Apuleius: "Senex comiſſimus ducit me "protinus ad ipſas fores ÆDIS AMPLISSIMÆ[f]." Strabo is more particular: "Next (ſays he) is "Eleuſis, in which is the temple of the Eleuſini-"an Ceres, and the myſtic cell built by Ictinus, "CAPABLE OF HOLDING AS LARGE A NUMBER "AS A THEATRE[g]." But Vitruvius's deſcription of it is ſtill more curious: "ELEUSINÆ Cereris & "Proſerpinæ cellam IMMANI MAGNITUDINE Ic-"tinus Dorico more, ſine exterioribus columnis

HORIS NOCTVRNIS
VT EVM VIDEAM
ET ETIAM ME FATO SVADERE
VELLIT VT ET EGO POSSIM
DVLCIVS ET CELERIVS
APVD EVM PERVENIRE.
Apud *Grut.* p. 786.

[f] *Metam.* l. xi. [g] Εἶτ' Ἐλευσὶν πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας· καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκὸς, ὃν κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτῖνος, ἔχλοι θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον. — lib. ix. *Geog.*

" *ad laxamentum uſus ſacrificiorum*, pertexit. Eam " autem poſtea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athe- " nis rerum potiretur, Philon ante templum in " fronte columnis conſtitutis Proſtylon fecit. *Ita* " *aucto veſtibulo laxamentum initiantibus operisque* " *ſummam adjecit autoritatem*[h]." And Ariſtides thought this the moſt extraordinary circumſtance in the whole affair: " But the thing moſt won- " derful and divine was, that of all the public aſ- " ſemblies of Greece, this was the only one which " was contained within the walls of one edifice[i]." Here was room, we ſee, and ſo purpoſely contrived, for all their SHEWS and REPRESENTATIONS.

And now, having occaſionally, and by parts only, ſaid ſo much of theſe things, it will not be amiſs, in concluſion to give one general and conciſe idea of the whole. I ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the celebration to be a kind of drama of the hiſtory of Ceres, which afforded opportunity to repreſent the three particulars, about which the myſteries were principally concerned. 1. *The riſe and eſtabliſhment of civil ſociety.* 2. *The doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments.* 3. *The error of polytheiſm, and the principle of the unity.* The Goddeſs's legiſlation in Sicily and Attica (at both which places ſhe was ſaid to civilize the ſavage manners of the inhabitants) gave birth to the *firſt*[k]. Her ſearch for her daughter Proſerpine in hell, to the *ſecond*; and her reſentments againſt the Gods for their permiſſion

[h] *De Architect.* Præf. ad l. vii.

[i] Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον, μόνην γὰρ ταύτην πανηγύρεων εἰς οἶκον συλλαβὼν εἶχε. *Eleuſin. Orat.*

[k] Teque, Ceres & Libera, quarum SACRA — a quibus initia vitæ, atque victus, legum, morum, manſuetudinis humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data, ac diſpertita eſſe dicuntur. *Cic. in Verr.* v. c. 72.

of

of, or connivance at, the rape, to the *third*[l]. But here let it be observed, that the *secrets* of the mysteries were unfolded both by *words* and *actions*: of which Aristides, quoted above, gives the reason; "That so the *sounds* and *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression "on the minds of the *initiated*." The *error of polytheism* therefore was as well exposed by the *dark wanderings* in the subterraneous passages thro' which the initiated began his course, as by the information given him by the hierophant: and the *truth of the unity* as strongly illustrated by the αὐτοπτον ἄγαλμα, the *self-seen image*[m], the diffusive *shining light*, as by the *hymn of Orpheus*[n], or this *speech of Anchises*.

On the whole, if I be not greatly deceived, the view in which I place this famous episode, not only clears up a number of difficulties inexplicable on any other scheme; but likewise ennobles, and gives a graceful finishing to, the whole poem; for now the episode is seen to be an essential part of the main subject, which is THE ERECTION OF A CIVIL POLICY AND A RELIGION. For custom had made *initiation* into the *mysteries* a necessary preparative to that arduous undertaking.

But there is no place in this admirable Poem, even to the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, which will not instruct us how considerable a station the *mysteries* held in public life; and how necessary they were supposed to be to the full equipage of a hero.

The ornaments on this shield consist of two

[l] This circumstance Apollodorus informs us of; his words are these: —— Μαθοῦσα δὲ παρ' ἑρμηέων, ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἥρπασεν, ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΠΕΛΙΠΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ· εἰκαθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ, ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα. *Bibl.* l. i. c. 5.

[m] See note (l) p. 272. [n] See p. 177.

principal parts or ſtories, very differently executed. The firſt, a looſe ſketch of the foundation and early fortunes of Rome; the ſecond, a highly finiſhed picture of the victory of Actium. Theſe ſo diſſimilar pieces ſeem to be as oddly connected; by a ſudden jump into the other world.

Hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam ſedes, alta oſtia Ditis;
Et ſcelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem ſcopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem [o].

But there is more in this diſpoſition than appears at firſt ſight. The ſeveral parts make an uniform and connected whole. The firſt of the two principal parts, we have obſerved, is a view of the foundation and firſt eſtabliſhment of ancient Rome. Now Dionyſius of Halicar. tells us, that this city was in nothing more excellent, or worthy of imitation, than in the genius of its national religion; which was ſo conſtructed, as to be always ready to render ſervice to the ſtate. Hence Virgil, when he has brought us to the time that their *civil* eſtabliſhment was perfectly ſecured by the ſlaughter and diſperſion of the Gauls,

(Scutis protecti corpora longis,)

goes on to the *religious* conſtitution:

His exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
Lanigerosque apices, & lapſa ancilia cœlo
Excuderat: caſtæ ducebant ſacra per urbem
Pilentis matres in mollibus —

Now Strabo obſerves, that the ancient pagan religion conſiſted of two parts, the OPEN and the SECRET [p]. The *open* Virgil has given us in the Salian and Lupercal rites. What remained was the *ſecret*;

[o] L. viii. [p] Lib. x. See above, p. 137.

and

of, or connivance at, the rape, to the *third*[l]. My ſuppoſition, of the dramatic nature of the ſhews, is not made without good authority. Lucian, in his *Alexander*, where he gives a large account of the impoſtures of that falſe prophet, ſpeaking of the *myſteries* which he inſtituted, in honour of his new-found God, Glyco; ſays, they were celebrated (after the uſual preparatory rites of torch-bearing, initiation, and public notice to the prophane to keep at diſtance,) by a three Days feſtival: "On the firſt day was repreſented the "labour of Latona and the Nativity of Apollo; the "nuptials of Ceronis; and the birth of Æſculapius. "On the ſecond, the appearance of Glyco, and the "generation of the god: and on the third, the ma-"riage of Podalirius with the mother of Alexan-"der." [m] Every thing in theſe rites being performed, as the turn of the learned author's relation neceſſarily implies, in imitation of ancient uſage. But here let it be obſerved, that the *ſecrets* of the myſteries were unfolded both by *words* and *actions*: of which Ariſtides, quoted above, gives the reaſon; "That ſo the *ſounds* and *ſights* might mu-"tually aſſiſt each other in making an impreſſion "on the minds of the *initiated.*" The *error of polytheiſm* therefore was as well expoſed by the *dark wanderings* in the ſubterraneous paſſages thro' which the Initiated began his courſe, as by the information received from the hierophant: and the *truth of the unity* as ſtrongly illuſtrated by the

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[m] Λήθης ἐγίνετο λοχεία, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος γονὰ, καὶ Κορωνίδος γάμος, καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐτίκτετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γλυκῶνος ἐπιφάνεια καὶ γένεσις τοῦ θεοῦ. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ, Ποδαλειρίου τε ἦν καὶ τῆς μήτηρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμος, &c.

αὐτοπλον ἄγαλμα, the *self-seen image* [n], the diffusive *shining light*, as by the *hymn of Orpheus* [o], or this *speech of Anchises*.

On the whole, if I be not much deceived, the view in which I place this famous episode, not only clears up a number of difficulties, inexplicable on any other scheme; but likewise heightens and ennobles the whole poem; for now the episode is seen to be an essential part of the main subject, which is THE ERECTION OF A CIVIL POLICY AND A RELIGION; custom having made *initiation* into the *mysteries* a necessary preparative for that arduous undertaking.

But there is no place in this admirable Poem, even to the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, which will not instruct us how considerable a station the MYSTERIES held in public life; and how necessary they were supposed to be, to compleat the equipage of a hero.

The ornaments on this shield consist of two principal parts or stories, very differently executed. The first, a loose sketch of the foundation and early fortunes of Rome; the second, a highly finished picture of the victory of Actium. These so dissimilar pieces seem to be as oddly connected; by a sudden jump unto the other world.

Hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis;
Et scelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem [p].

But there is more in this disposition than appears at first sight. The several parts make an uniform and connected System. The first of the two principal parts, we have observed, is a view of the

[n] See note (l) p. 272. [o] See p. 177. [p] Lib. viii.

foun-

foundation and first establishment of ancient Rome. Now Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us, that this city, was in nothing more excellent, or worthy of imitation than in the genius of its national religion; which was so constructed, as to be always ready to render service to the State. Hence, Virgil, when he has brought us to the time that their *civil* establishment was perfectly secured by the slaughter and dispersion of the Gauls,

(Scutis protecti corpora longis,)

goes on to the *religious* constitution:

Hic exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cœlo
Excuderat: castæ ducebant sacra per urbem
Pilentis matres in mollibus —

Now Strabo observes, that the ancient pagan religion consisted of two parts, the OPEN and the SECRET [q]. The *open*, Virgil hath given us in the Salian and Lupercal rites. What remained was the *secret*; and this he presents to us in an oblique description of the *mysteries*; where (as we have shewn) the scenes of a *future state* were exhibited to the *initiated*.

Hinc procul addit
TARTAREAS etiam SEDES, alta ostia Ditis;
Et scelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
SECRETOSQUE PIOS; his dantem jura Catonem.

So that, as before, a particular INITIATION into the *Mysteries* was meant by Æneas's descent to the infernal regions; here, the general CELEBRATION of them is to be understood by this contracted view of Tartarus and Elysium.

As this meaning seems necessary to give common propriety to the description of the shield, there

[q] Lib. x.

is reaſon, I think, for receiving it. And if we allow, that the *myſteries* are here repreſented under the idea of the *infernal regions*, we gain a new argument in favour of the interpretation of the ſixth book.

If it be aſked why Cato is put, as it were, in the place of Minos; and Catiline, of Tityus; the anſwer will let us into another beauty. It is a fine inſinuation, that theſe foreign rites of Eleuſis deſerved to be naturalized at Rome. In which he only followed the opinion of Cicero [r].

Here it may not be improper to take notice of a vulgar miſtake, as old at leaſt as Servius, that Cato the cenſor, and not Cato of Utica, is meant in this place; as if the court poet would not dare to celebrate the profeſſed enemy of the Julian houſe. This made the critics ſeek out for a Cato of a diſtant age, to brave Catiline in Hell; when they might have ſeen it could be no other than his great contemporary, who had before withſtood him in Rome. And the circumſtances in which the poet places them, ſeem plainly to allude to the famous conteſt between Cato and Cæſar, in full ſenate, concerning the fate of Catiline's followers; whom Cato was for ſending to the infernal regions, to receive their final doom from the judges of hell: to evade this ſentence, Cæſar took occaſion to laugh at the notion of a future ſtate: As the other, for a contrary reaſon, ſet himſelf to ſupport and defend it. The laſt line,

Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem,

was probably a compliment to Cato in his little ſenate at Utica.

All this conſidered, we ſee the reaſon, the great artiſt had to call his picture,

Clypei non enarrabile textum.

[r] See p. 187.

And

And now the principle of the *ſixth* book being further ſupported by this collateral circumſtance, it will enable us to diſcover and explain another beauty in the *ſeventh*; which depending on this principle, could not be ſeen till it was eſtabliſhed.

If the recommendation of the *myſteries* was of ſuch importance in an epic poem of this *ſpecies*; and if, at the time of writing, many of the *myſteries* were become abominably corrupt, we can hardly believe but that the poet, after he had ſo largely expatiated in praiſe of thoſe that were holy and uſeful, would take care to ſtigmatize ſuch as were become notoriouſly profligate: becauſe this tended equally with the other, to vindicate, what he had in view, the honour of the inſtitution. And what ſtrengthens this conjecture, is the ſimilar conduct of another great writer of antiquity upon the ſame ſubject, whom we are now coming to, APULEIUS of Madaura, whoſe *Metamorphoſis* is written altogether in this view of *recommending the pagan myſteries*; in which, as we ſhall find, he hath been no leſs circumſtantial in reprobating the corrupt myſteries of the SYRIAN GODDESS than in extolling the pure rites of the EGYPTIAN ISIS. A conduct ſo much alike, that the two caſes will ſerve mutually to ſupport what is here ſaid of either.

This then ſeems a neceſſary part in the plan of Virgil's Poem. But it was no eaſy matter to execute it. Another allegory would have been without grace; nor was there any repoſe in the latter part of the action of the poem, as in the former, to admit a digreſſion of ſuch a length. On the other hand, to condemn all *corrupt myſteries*, in the plain way of a judiciary ſentence, did not ſuit the nature of his poem: or if it had ſuited it, could it have been uſed, without hurting the uniform texture

of the work; after the *pure rites* had been ſo covertly recommended under figures and fictions.

The poet, therefore, with admirable invention, hath contrived, in the next book, to render the moſt corrupt of the myſteries, the ſecret rites of Bacchus, very odious, by making them the inſtrument to traverſe the deſigns of providence, in the eſtabliſhment of his Hero; and by putting a Fury on the office of exciting the *aſpirants*, to the *celebration* of them. Amata, the mother of Lavinia, in order to violate the league commenced between Æneas and Latinus, contrives, at the inſtigation of Alecto, to ſecrete her daughter; and to devote and conſecrate her to Bacchus, in an *initiation* into one of his abominable rites.

Simulato numine Bacchi
Majus adorta nefas, majoremque orſa furorem,
Evolat, & *natam* frondoſis montibus abdit[s];
Quo thalamum eripiat Teucris, tedasque moretur:
Evoë, Bacche! fremens solum te virgine dignum[s]
Vociferans —
Fama volat: Furiisque accenſas pectore *matres*,
Idem omnis ſimul ardor agit, nova quærere tecta
Deſeruere domos —
Clamat: Io, matres —
Solvite crinales vittas, capite orgia mecum.
Talem inter ſylvas, inter deſerta ferarum
Reginam Alecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi[t].

The myſteries of Bacchus were well choſen for an example of corrupted rites, and of the miſchiefs they

[s] Livy, we have ſeen, in his account of theſe rites of *Bacchus*, ſays, "Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos machinæ illigatos "ex conſpectu in abditos ſpecus abripiant."

[t] Lib. vii.

pro-

produced; for they were early, and flagrantly corrupted. But his principal reaſon for this choice, I ſuppoſe, was a very extraordinary ſtory he found in the Roman annals, of the horrors committed in that city, during the clandeſtine celebration of the *Bacchic rites*; which Livy has tranſcribed very circumſtantially into the thirty-ninth book of his *Hiſtory*.

Nor did the poet think he had done enough, in repreſenting the *corrupt myſteries* under theſe circumſtances of diſcredit, without ſpecifying the miſchiefs they produced; nor that he had ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed them from the *pure*, without ſhewing thoſe miſchiefs to be ſuch as the pure had condemned, and providentially obviated.

The next news, therefore, we hear of Amata, after her celebration of the rites of Bacchus, is her SUICIDE, and a ſuicide of the moſt ignominious kind.

Purpureos moritura manu diſcindit amictus,
Et nodum *informis leti* trabe nectit ab alta.

This diſaſter the poet makes Jupiter charge upon Juno; who, by the miniſtry of Alecto, excited Amata to an *initiation*,

Terris agitare vel undis
Trojanos potuiſti: infandum accendere bellum,
DEFORMARE DOMUM, & luctu miſcere hymenæos.

Suicide, as we learn by Plato[v], the *holy myſteries* expreſly forbad and condemned. On which account our poet, in his allegorical deſcription of what was repreſented in the *Eleuſinian*, has placed theſe criminals in a ſtate of miſery.

Proxima deinde tenent mœſti loca, qui ſibi lethum —

[v] See above, p. 255.

Thus nobly hath Virgil completed his design on the subject of the MYSTERIES. The hero of the poem is initiated into the most pure and holy of them; his capital enemy, into the most impure and corrupt; and the schemes and intrigues of either party have a correspondent issue.

To conclude, the principles here assumed, in explaining this famous poetical fiction, are, I presume, such as give solidity, as well as light, to what is deduced from them; and are, perhaps, the only principles from which any thing reasonable can be deduced in a piece of criticism of this nature. For from what I had shewn was taught and represented in the *mysteries*, I infer that Æneas's DESCENT INTO HELL signifies an INITIATION; because of the exact conformity, in all circumstances, between what Virgil relates of his hero's adventure, and what antiquity delivers concerning the SHEWS and DOCTRINES of those MYSTERIES, into which heroes were wont to be initiated. On the contrary, had I gratuitously supposed, without any previous knowledge of what was practised in the *mysteries*, that the *descent* was an *initiation*, merely because Augustus (who was shadowed under the person of Æneas) was initiated; and thence inferred, that the *mysteries* did exhibit the same scenes which the Poet hath made *Hell* to exhibit to his Hero, my explanation had been as devoid of any solid inference, as of any rational principle. And yet if authority could support so impertinent a piece of reasoning, we had a very considerable one at our service. A celebrated writer, in a tract intitled *Reflections on the character of Iapis in Virgil*, goes altogether on this gratuitous kind of criticism. Without any previous knowledge of the life and fortunes of ANTONIUS MUSA,

the

the phyſician of Auguſtus, he ſuppoſes that Virgil meant this perſon by IAPIS, merely becauſe Auguſtus was meant by Æneas. And then, from what the poet tells us of Iapis's hiſtory, the critic concludes it muſt have made part of the hiſtory of Muſa; and ſo, inſtead of explaining a fable by hiſtory, he would regulate hiſtory on a fable. Whereas the principles of true criticiſm ſhould have directed him to inquire previouſly what antiquity had left us, concerning the perſon of Antonius Muſa: and if, on comparing what he found, with what Virgil has delivered concerning Iapis, there appeared any ſtrong reſemblance; then, and not till then, his ingenious conjecture, that *Iapis* was *Muſa*, would ſtand upon a reaſonable bottom. It was not thus that an able critic [w] lately explained Virgil's noble allegory, in the beginning of the *third* GEORGIC; where, under the idea of a magnificent Temple, to be raiſed to the Divinity of Auguſtus; the poet promiſes the famous epic poem which he afterwards erected in his honour; or, as our Milton ſays,

——— "built the lofty rhime.

But had the exiſtence of ſuch a poem never come to our knowledge, I am perſuaded, this excellent writer had never troubled the world with ſo ſlender a conjecture that a Temple ſignified an epic poem; and therefore that Virgil executed, or at leaſt intended, ſuch a work. In truth, Critics ſhould proceed in theſe enquiries about their author's ſecret meaning, with the ſame caution and ſobriety which Courts of Juſtice employ in the detection of concealed criminals; who take care, in the firſt place to be well aſſured of the *corpus delicti*,

[w] See Hor. *Ep. ad Auguſt. with an Engl. Comm. and Notes*, p. 36.

before

before they venture to charge the fact upon any one.

Thus far concerning the *use* of the MYSTERIES to SOCIETY. How *essential* they were esteemed to RELIGION, we may understand by the METAMORPHOSIS OF APULEIUS; a book, indeed, which from its very first appearance hath passed for a trivial fable. Capitolinus, in the life of Clodius Albinus, where he speaks of that kind of tales which disconcert the gravity of philosophers, tells us that Severus could not bear with patience the honours the Senate had conferred on Albinus; especially their distinguishing him with the title of *learned*, who was grown old in the study of old-wives-fables, such as the Milesian-Punic tales of his countryman and favourite, Apuleius: "Major fuit (says Severus, in his letter to the senate on this occasion) "dolor quod illum pro *literato* laudan-"dum plerique duxistis, quum ille næniis quibus-"dam anilibus occupatus *inter Milesias Punicas* "*Apuleii sui* et ludicra literaria conseneseceret." That poor, modern-spirited critic, Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius in the same strain.—"Nec om-"nibus fabulis Philosophia repugnat, nec omnibus "acquiescit—Fabulæ, aut tantum conciliandæ au-"ribus voluptatis aut adhortationis quoque in bo-"nam frugem gratia repertæ sunt, auditum mul-"cent; velut comœdiæ; quales Menander ejusve "imitatores agendas dederunt: vel argumenta "fictis casibus amatorum referta; quibus vel mul-"tum se *Arbiter* exercuit, vel APULEIUM nonnun-"quam *lusisse* MIRAMUR. Hoc totum fabularum "genus, *quod solas aurium delicias profitetur, e sacra-*"*rio suo in nutricum cunas sapientiæ tractatus elimi-*"*nat*[x]."—However he seems to wonder that Apuleius should trifle so egregiously: and well he might.

[x] Lib. i. c. 2.

For the writer of the Metamorphoſis was one of the graveſt and moſt virtuous, as well as moſt learned, philoſophers of his age. But Albinus appears to have gone further into the true character of this work, than his rival Severus. And if we may believe Marcus Aurelius, who calls Albinus, "homo exercitatus, vita triſtis, gravis moribus[y]," he was not a man to be taken with ſuch trifling amuſements as Mileſian fables. His fondneſs therefore for the *Metamorphoſis* of Apuleius ſhews, that he conſidered it in another light. And who ſo likely to be let into the author's true deſign, as Albinus, who lived very near his time, and was of Adrumetum in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where Apuleius ſojourned and ſtudied, and was diſtinguiſhed with public honours? The work is indeed of a different character from what ſome ancients have repreſented it; and even from what modern critics have pretended to diſcover of it. Thoſe ancients, who ſtuck in the outſide, conſidered it, without refinement, as an idle fable; the moderns, who could not reconcile a work of that nature to the gravity of the author's character, have ſuppoſed it a thing of more importance, and no leſs than a general ſatire on the vices of thoſe times: "Tota "porro hæc metamorphoſis Apuleiana (ſays Mr. Fleuri[z]) "& ſtylo & ſententia, ſatyricon eſt per-"petuum, ut recte obſervavit Barthius, *Adverſ.* "lib. li. cap. 11. in quo magica deliria, ſacrificu-"lorum ſcelera, adulterorum crimina, furum & "latronum impunitæ factiones palam differuntur." But this is far ſhort of the matter. The author's main purpoſe was not to ſatyrize the ſpecific *vices of his age* (tho' to enliven his fable, and for the better

[y] Capitolinus, in *Claud. Alb.* [z] Ed. Ap. in uſ. Delph.

carrying

carrying on his ſtory, he hath employed many circumſtances of this kind) but to recommend Pagan Religion as the only cure for *all vice whatſoever*.

To give what we have to ſay its proper force, we muſt conſider the real character of the writer. Apuleius, of Madaura in Afric, was a devoted Platoniſt; and, like the Platoniſts of that age, an inveterate enemy to Chriſtianity. His zeal for the honour of *philoſophy* is ſeen in that ſolemn affirmation, when convened before a court of juſtice, "Philoſophiæ honorem qui mihi ſalute mea anti-"quior eſt, nuſquam minui[a]." His ſuperſtitious attachment to the *religion of his country* is ſeen in his immoderate fondneſs for the Mysteries. He was initiated, as himſelf tells us, into almoſt all of them: and, in ſome, bore the moſt diſtinguiſhed offices. In his Apology before the proconſul of Africa, he ſays, "Vin' "dicam, cujuſmodi illas res in ſudario obvolutas, "laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi gere-"tur. *Sacrorum pleraque Initia in Græcia partici-"pavi.* Eorum quædam ſigna & monumenta "tradita mihi a ſacerdotibus ſedulo conſervo. Ni-"hil inſolitum, nihil incognitum dico: vel unius "Liberi Patris Symmiſtæ, qui adeſtis, ſcitis, quid "domi conditum celetis, & abſque omnibus pro-"fanis tacite veneremini. *At ego, ut dixi, multi-"juga ſacra et plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias,* "studio veri *et officio erga Deos, didici.* Nec hoc "ad tempus compono: ſed abhinc ferme trien-"nium eſt, cum primis diebus quibus Œam vene-"ram, publice *differens de* Æsculapii majestate "eadem iſta præ me tuli, & quot ſacra noſſem "percenſui. Ea diſputatio celebratiſſima eſt;

[a] *Apol.* p. 114. Ed. Pric.

"vulgo

" vulgo legitur; in omnium manibus verſatur;
" non tam facundia mea, quam mentione Æſcu-
" lapii religioſis Œenſibus commendata. — Eti-
" amne cuiquam mirum videri poteſt, cui ſit ulla
" memoria religionis, *hominem tot myſteriis Deûm*
" *conſcium* quæuam ſacrorum crepundia domi ad-
" ſervare[b] ?" His attachment to the *open* worſhip of Paganiſm was not inferior to the *ſecret*, as appears by what follows from the ſame Apology: — " Morem mihi habeo, quoquò eam, ſi-
" mulacrum alicujus Dei inter libellos conditum
" geſtare; eique diebus feſtis thure & mero & ali-
" quando victimis ſupplicare[c]." His great devotion to Paganiſm, therefore, muſt needs have been attended with an equal averſion to Chriſtianity; and it is more than probable, that the oration he ſpeaks of as made in honour of Æſculapius, was in the number of thoſe INVECTIVES, at that time ſo well received by the enemies of our holy faith. For, not to inſiſt on the ſucceſs of his oration, which, he tells us, was in every body's hands, a thing common to diſcourſes on ſubjects that engage the public attention, but rarely the fortune of ſuch ſtale ware as panegyrics on a God long worn into an eſtabliſhment; not, I ſay, to inſiſt upon this, we may obſerve that Æſculapius was one of thoſe ancient heroes[d], who were employed, by the defenders of Paganiſm, to oppoſe to JESUS; and the circumſtances of Æſculapius's ſtory made him the fitteſt of any in fabulous antiquity, for that purpoſe. Ovid, who lived before theſe times of danger to the pagan Gods, and indeed, before the coming of that Deliverer who gave occaſion to ſo many im-

[b] *Apologia*, p. 63—4. Ed. a Pricæo, Par. 1635, 4to.
[c] *Apologia*, p 72.
[d] See Cyrill. *cont. Julian.* l. vi.

pious

pious compariſons, hath yet made Ochirröe, in contemplation of his future actions, propheſy of him in ſuch ſtrains as preſented to his excellent Tranſlator the image of the *true phyſician of mankind*; and thereby enabled him to give a ſublime to his verſion; which is not borrowed from his original.

Ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores;
Incaluitque Deo, quem clauſam pectore habebat;
Aſpicit infantem, totique ſalutifer orbi
Creſce, puer, dixit: tibi ſe mortalia ſæpe
Corpora debebunt: animas tibi reddere ademptas
Fas erit. Idque ſemel, dîs indignantibus, auſus,
Poſſe dare hoc iterum flamma prohibebere avita:
Eque deo corpus fies exſangue, deuſque,
Qui modo corpus eras, & bis tua fata novabis.

OVID.

Once as the ſacred Infant ſhe ſurvey'd,
The God was kindled in the raving maid,
And thus ſhe utter'd her prophetic tale:
" Hail, great phyſician of the world, all hail;
" Hail, mighty Infant, who in years to come,
" Shalt heal the nations and defraud the tomb;
" Swift be thy growth, thy triumphs unconfin'd!
" Make kingdoms thicker, and increaſe man-
" " kind.
" Thy daring art ſhall animate the dead,
" And draw the thunder on thy guilty head:
" Then ſhalt thou die. —But from the dark abode
" Riſe up victorious, and be twice a God,

ADDISON.

Having ſeen what there was in the common paſſion of his ſect, and in his own fond mode of ſuperſtition, to indiſpoſe Apuleius to *Chriſtianity*; let us inquire what private provocation he might have to prejudice him againſt it: for, a private provoca-

vocation, I am perſuaded, he had; occaſioned by a perſonal injury done him by one of *this profeſſion*; which, I ſuppoſe, did not a little contribute to exaſperate his bigottry. He had married a rich widow, againſt the will of her firſt huſband's relations; who endeavoured to ſet aſide the marriage on pretence of his employing ſorcery and enchantments to engage her affections. Of this, he was judicially accuſed by his wife's brother-in-law, Licinius Æmilianus, before the Proconſul of Africa. Now his accuſer, if I am not much miſtaken, was a CHRISTIAN, tho' this intereſting circumſtance hath eſcaped his commentators. However let us hear the character Apuleius himſelf gives of his party. — "Atqui ego ſcio nonnullos, et cum primis *Æmilianum* iſtum, *facetiæ* ſibi habere *res divinas deridere.* Nam, ut audio, percenſentibus iis qui iſtum novere, *nulli deo ad hoc ævi ſupplicavit*; *nullum templum frequentavit.* Si fanum aliquod prætereat, NEFAS HABET ADORANDI GRATIA MANUM LABRIS ADMOVERE. Iſte vero nec diis rurationis, qui eum poſcunt ac veſtiunt, ſegetis ullas aut vitis aut gregis primitias impartit; nullum in villa ejus delubrum ſitum, nec locus aut lucus conſecratus. At quid ego de luco aut delubro loquor? *Negant vidiſſe ſe, qui fuere unum ſaltem in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum.* Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita: *Charon*, ob oris et animi diritatem: ſed alterum, quod LIBENTIUS AUDIT, ob deorum contemptum, *Mezentius*[e]. So, where he apoſtrophiſes him in another place, he ſays, agreeably to this character of him — SI QUID CREDIS, Æmiliane![f] and again, after explaining a ſpiritual doctrine of Plato, he adds with a ſnear—

[e] *Apol.* p. 64, 5. [f] P. 26.

attamen

attamen ſi audire VERUM velis, Æmiliane [g]! But the repetition of this characteriſtic word with an ironical emphaſis is his conſtant formula when he addreſſes Æmilianus, longe a *vero* aberraſſe neceſſe habeat confiteri [h] — Immo ſi *verum* velis [i] — plane quidem ſi *verum* velis [k]. 1. Now, irreligion and atheiſm, we know, was the name Chriſtianity at that time went by, for having dared to renounce the whole family of the gentile Gods in a lump. Æmilianus we ſee had made ſuch clear work, that there was not ſo much as an anointed ſtone, or a tree adorned with conſecrated garlands, to be found throughout his whole Farm. That the Atheiſm of Æmilianus was of this ſort, and no *courtly* or *philoſophic* impiety, appears from his Character and Station. He was neither a fine gentleman nor a profound Inquirer into nature; characters indeed which are ſometimes found to be above Religion; but a mere Ruſtic, in his life and manners. Now plain unpoliſhed men in ſuch a ſtation are never without ſome religion or other: when we find Æmilianus, therefore, not of the *eſtabliſhed*, we muſt needs conclude him to be a *Sectary* and a CHRISTIAN. 2. His neglect of his country Gods was not a mere negative affront; of forgetfulneſs. He gloried in being their deſpiſer; and took kindly to the name of MEZENTIUS, as a title of honour — *alterum, quod libentius audit, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius*, which I would conſider as a further mark of a *Chriſtian convict*. 3. He even held it an *abomination* ſo much as to put his hand to his lips; (according to the mode of adoration in thoſe times) when he paſſed by an Heathen Temple; nefas habet adorandi gratia manum labris admovere, the moſt

[g] P. 14. [h] P. 77. [i] P. 98. [k] P. 108.

cha-

characteriſtic mark of a *primitive Confeſſor*, by which he could never be miſtaken; nor, one would think, ſo long overlooked.

The averſion, therefore, which Apuleius had contracted to his Chriſtian accuſer, (and we ſee, by his apology, it was in no ordinary degree) would without doubt increaſe his prejudice to that religion. I am perſuaded he gave the Character of the Baker's wife, in his *golden Aſs*, for no other reaſon than to outrage our holy faith. He draws her ſtained with all the vices that could fall to the ſhare of a Woman; and then, to finiſh all, he makes her a Chriſtian.—" Nec enim vel unum " vitium nequiſſimæ illi feminæ deerat: ſed omnia " prorſus, ut in quandam cœnoſam latrinam, in " ejus animam flagitia confluxerant, ſæva, virioſa, " ebrioſa, pervicax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in " ſumptibus fœdis profuſa: inimica fidei, hoſtis pu- " dicitiæ. *Tunc ſpretis atque calcatis divinis numini-* " *bus*, IN VICEM CERTÆ RELIGIONIS MENTITA " SACRILEGA PRÆSUMPTIONE DEI, QUEM PRÆ- " DICARET UNICUM, CONFICTIS OBSERVATIONI- " BUS VACUIS, fallens omnes homines, *&c.*[1]"

Let us ſee now how this would influence his writings. There was nothing the PHILOSOPHERS of that time had more at heart, eſpecially the *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans*, than the ſupport of ſink-

[1] Met. l. ix. p. 186. Pric. Ed. So again in the fourth book, deſcribing certain magnific ſhews exhibited to the people by one Demochares; when he comes to ſpeak of the criminals thrown to wild-beaſts, he expreſſes himſelf in this manner:— Alibi noxii, PERDITA SECURITATE, ſuis epulis beſtiarum faginas inſtruentes. p. 72. The Oxf. MS. for *ſecuritate* read *ſeveritate*: on which *Price* obſerves, *eg. nec hoc nec illud intelle-ctum habeo.* Apuleius by *noxii* apparently meant the *condemned Chriſtians*; and *perdita ſecuritate*, which is the true reading, cenſures their reaſonable hope of a happy immortality, or their falſe confidence that the beaſts would not hurt them.

ing Paganiſm. This ſervice, as hath been occaſionally remarked, they performed in various ways and manners: ſome by *allegorizing their theology*; ſome by *ſpiritualizing their Philoſophy*; and ſome, as Jamblicus and Philoſtratus, by writing the *lives of their Heroes*, to oppoſe to that of Chriſt; others again, as Porphyry, with this view, *collected their oracles*; or as Melanthius, Menander, Hiceſius, & Sotades *wrote deſcriptive encomiums on their* Mysteries. Which laſt, as we ſhall now ſhew, was the province undertaken by Apuleius; his *Metamorphoſis* being nothing elſe but one continued recommendation of them.

But to give what we have to ſay it's proper force; let us 1. enquire into the motives our author might have for entering at all into the defence of Paganiſm: 2. His reaſons for chuſing this topic of defence, *the recommendation of the myſteries.*

1. As to his defence of paganiſm in general, we may obſerve, 1. That works of this kind were very much in faſhion, eſpecially amongſt the philoſophers of our author's ſect. 2. He was, as we have ſeen, moſt ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to pagan worſhip: and, 3. He bore a perſonal ſpite and prejudice to the Chriſtian profeſſion.

2. As to his making the defence of the *Myſteries* his choice, ſtill ſtronger reaſons may be aſſigned. 1. Theſe were the rites to which he was ſo peculiarly devoted, that he had contrived to be *initiated* into all the *myſteries* of note, in the Roman world; and in ſeveral of them had born the moſt diſtinguiſhed offices. 2. The *Myſteries* being at this time become extremely corrupt, and conſequently, in diſcredit, needed an able and zealous apologiſt: both of which qualities met eminently in Apuleius. The corruptions were of two kinds, De-

BAUCHERIES

BAUCHERIES and MAGIC. Their *Debaucheries* we have taken notice of, above: their *Magic* will be conſidered hereafter. But, 3. Our author's cloſe attachment to *myſterious rites* was, without queſtion, the very thing that occaſioned all thoſe ſuſpicions and reports, which ended in an accuſation of Magic: And, conſidering what hath been ſaid of the corrupt ſtate of the *Myſteries*, the reader will not wonder at it.

Such then being the general character of the *Myſteries*, and of this their great Devotee, nothing was more natural than his projecting their defence; which at the ſame time, that it concurred to the ſupport of paganiſm in general, would vindicate his own credit, together with an inſtitution of which he was ſo immoderately fond. And the following conſiderations are ſufficient to ſhew, that the *Metamorphoſis* was written after his *Apology:* for, 1. His accuſers never once mention the fable of the *golden aſs* to ſupport their charge of Magic, though they were in great want of proofs, and this lay ſo ready for their purpoſe [m]. 2. He poſitively aſſerts before the tribunal of Maximus Claudius that he had *never* given the *leaſt* occaſion to ſuſpect him of *Magic:* "*Nuſquam* paſſus ſum *vel exiguam* ſuſpicionem *ma*-"*giæ* conſiſtere [n]."

Now Antiquity conſidered INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES as *a delivery from a living death of vice, brutality, and miſery; and the beginning of a new life of virtue, reaſon, and happineſs* [o]. This

[m] We are not to ſuppoſe that he alludes to the *Metamorphoſis* in the following words of the Apology, —Aggredior enim jam ad ipſum crimen *Magiæ*, quod ingenti tumultu, ad invidiam mei, accenſum, fruſtrata expectatione omnium, per *neſcio quas anileis fabulas* deflagravit p. 29—30. The *idle tales* here hinted at, are ſuch as he afterwards expoſes in the courſe of his defence.

[n] P. 100. [o] See what hath been ſaid above.

therefore, was the very circumstance which our author chose for the subject of his recommendation.

And as in the *Mysteries*, their moral and divine truths were represented in *shews* and *allegories*, so, in order to comply with this *method* of instruction, and in imitation of the ancient masters of wisdom [p], who borrowed their *manner* of teaching from thence, he hath artfully insinuated his doctrine in an agreeable Fable; and the fittest one could conceive for his purpose, as will be seen when we come to examine it.

The foundation of this allegory was a *Milesian fable*, a species of polite trifling then much in vogue, and not very unlike the modern *Arabian tales*. To allure his readers, therefore, with the promise of a fashionable work, he introduces his Metamorphosis in this manner: *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conseram, aureasque tuas benevolas lepido susurro permulceam*; plainly intimating that there was something of more consequence at bottom. But they took him at his word; and, from that day to this, never troubled their heads about a further meaning. The outside engaged all their attention, and sufficiently delighted them; as we may gather from the early title it bore of Asinus Aureus [q]: unless we will rather suppose it

[p] Strabo acquaints us with the inducements which the ancients had to practice this method of Instruction.—Οταν δὲ προσῃ καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τὸ τερατῶδες, ἐπιτείνει τὴν ἡδονήν, ἥπερ ἐπὶ τῷ μανθάνειν φίλτρον. Καταχρᾶς μὲν ἔν ἀνάγκη τοιούτοις δείλασι χρῆσθαι. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὄντων μάθησιν ἄγειν, ἡδη τῆς διανοίας ἐρρωμένης, καὶ μηκέτι δεομένης κολάκων. Καὶ ἰδιώτης δὲ πᾶς καὶ ἀπαίδευτος τρόπον τινὰ παῖς ἐστι, φιλομυθεῖ τε ὡσαύτως. Geog. I. i.

[q] From the beginning of one of Pliny's epistles, I suspect that Aureæ was the common title given to the *Milesian*, and such like tales as Strolers used to tell for a piece of money to the rabble in a circle. Pliny's words are these—assem para, et accipe AUREAM fabulam. l. ii. Ep. 20.

to

to have been bestowed by the few intelligent readers in the secret; for, in spite of the author, a secret it was, and so all along continued.

Upon one of these popular fables, he chose to ingraft his instruction; taking a celebrated tale from the collections of one Lucius of Patræ; who relates his transformation into an Ass, and his adventures under that shape. Lucian has epitomised this story, as Apuleius seems to have paraphrased it: and the subject being a METAMORPHOSIS, it admirably fitted his purpose; as the METEMPSYCHOSIS to which that superstition belongs was one of the fundamental doctrines of the *Mysteries* [r].

The fable opens with the representation of a young man, personated by himself, sensible of the advantages of *virtue* and *piety*, but immoderately fond of *pleasure*, and as curious of *Magic* [s]. And his adventure with *Byrrhena* and *Pamphile* seems to

[r] But from Photius's account of Lucius Patrensis one would be inclined to rank him amongst those who composed books of *Metamorphosis* [See B. iii. Sect. 3.] according to the popular theology, rather than a writer of Milesian fables. He entitles Lucius's work μεταμορφώσεως λόγοι διάφοροι. And after having said that Lucian borrowed his *Ass* from thence, to ridicule pagan religion, he goes on, ὁ δὲ Λουκιος σπεδάζων τε, καὶ πιστὰς νομιζων τὰς ἐξ ανθρωπων εις αλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις, τάς τε ἐξ ἀλόγων εἰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἀνάπαλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΜΥΘΩΝ ὕθλον καὶ φλήναφον γραφῇ παρεδίδου ταῦτα, καὶ συνύφαινεν. This will account for the oddness of Apuleius's expressions, with which he introduces his *Fable*—Et figuras fortunasque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum *mutuo nexu* refectas, ut miseris, exordior,—words by no means suiting with the single transformation, and story of the *golden ass*, but very expressive of the nature of such a work as that of Lucius Patrensis, according to the idea which Photius gives us of it. From when I conclude that Apuleius might translate these words from his original author.

[s] Apuleius takes care to keep up this part of his character as he goes along, *familiaris* CURIOSITATIS *admonitus*, l. iii. *familiari* CURIOSITATE *attonitus*, l. ix. And *Curiosus* and *Magus* were used by the Ancients as Synonymous. So Apu-

be borrowed from Prodicus's fable of the conteſt between Virtue and Pleaſure for the young Hercules. Byrrhena meets our adventurer, pretends to be his relation [t], and tells him that ſhe brought him up from his infancy: by which is intimated that virtue was moſt natural to him. She leads him home to her houſe, which is deſcribed as a magnificent palace: one of its principal ornaments is the hiſtory of Diana [v]; where the puniſhment of Actæon is not forgot [w], as a ſeaſonable leſſon againſt *vicious curioſity*. And to keep him to her ſelf ſhe promiſes to make him heir of all her fortunes. Then taking him apart, ſhe warns him to beware of the miſchievous practices of his hoſteſs Pamphile. "Per hanc, inquit, Deam (Dianam) "ô Luci cariſſime, ut anxie tibi metuo, et, ut-"pote pignori meo, longe proviſum cupio, cave "tibi, ſed cave fortiter, a malis artibus, et faci-"noroſis illecebris Pamphiles illius,—Maga primi "nominis, et omnis carminis ſepulcralis magiſtra "creditur: quæ furculis et lapillis, et id genus "frivolis inhalatis, omnem iſtam lucem mundi ſi-"deralis imis Tartari, et in vetuſtum chaos ſub-"mergere novit. Nam cum quemquam con-"ſpexerit ſpecioſæ formæ juvenem, venuſtate ejus "ſumitur: et illico *etc.*

leius himſelf.—*At ego* curiosus *alioquin, ut primum* artis magicæ *ſemper optatum nomen audivi*, p. 24. Hence it is that he is repreſented as having been initiated in all the *corrupt Myſteries*, where Magic was profeſſedly practiced. *Fotis* enjoining him ſilence, ſays, *ſacris pluribus initiatus*, profecto nôſti ſanctam ſilentii fidem. p. 53.

[t] Ego te, o Luci, meis iſtis manibus educavi: quidni? parentis tuæ non modo ſanguinis, verum alimoniarum etiam ſocia fui. p. 23.

[v] Ecce lapis Parius in Dianam factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem, ſignum perfecte luculentum,—introeuntibus obvium, et majeſtate numinis venerabile, *etc.* p. 22.

[w] Inter medias frondes lapidis Actæonis ſimulachrum, *curioſo obtutu* in *dorſum projectus*, etc, p. 23.

But

But Lucius makes a choice very different from that of Hercules [x]. He gives a loose to his vicious appetite for *Pleasure* and *Magic:* and the crimes and follies into which they lead him soon ends in his transformation to a BRUTE.

This contrivance of the introductory part is artful; and finely insinuates the great moral of the piece, THAT BRUTALITY ATTENDS VICE AS IT'S PUNISHMENT: and punishment by actual transformation was keeping up to the popular opinion [y]. His making a passion for *Magic* contribute to this dreadful change is no less ingenious, as it cleared both *himself* and the *Mysteries* from that imputation; for it appeared that *Magic* was so far from being innocent, that in his opinion, it was attended with the severest punishment; so far from being encouraged by the *Mysteries*, that they only could relieve men from the distresses which this vicious curiosity brought upon it's votaries; as is shewn by the catastrophe of the piece.

St. Austin permitted himself to doubt whether Apuleius's account of his change into an ass was not a true relation. — *Sicut Apuleius, in libris quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente, asinus fieret,* AUT INDICAVIT *aut finxit* [z]. I shall say nothing to this extravagant doubt, but only observe, that it appears from hence, that St. Austin esteemed Apuleius a profligate in his manners, and ad-

[x] He had promised to observe *Byrrhena's* monitions, and to return to her again: but a circumstance of immoderate mirth intervening he found in himself a more than ordinary aversion to keep his word Ad hæc ego formidans et procul perhorrescens etiam ipsam domum ejus, *etc.* p. 51. This is a fine circumstance, nothing being so great an enemy to modesty and chastity (figured in the person of Byrrhena) as immoderate mirth.

[y] See B. iii. Sect. 3.

[z] *Civ. Dei,* l. xviii. c. 18.

dicted to the ſuperſtitions of Magic. And yet it is by no means credible, that he who took ſo much pains, in a very ſerious and public way [a], to free himſelf from thoſe imputations ſhould afterwards wantonly undo all he had ſo ſucceſsfully performed in ſupport of a doubtful reputation; by an unneceſſary narrative of his own early debaucheries: but it may be ſaid, that all this happened in his youth; and that his ſubſequent *initiations* had purified his manners: But neither will his Apology admit of this ſuppoſition; for there he expreſly inſiſts on the virtue of his youth. "De eloquentia vero, ſi qua mihi fuiſſet, neque mirum, neque invidioſum deberet videri, ſi *ab ineunte ævo* unis ſtudiis litterarum ex ſummis viribus deditus, omnibus aliis ſpretis voluptatibus, *ad hoc ævi*, haud ſciam anne ſuper omneis homines impenſo labore, diuque noctuque, cum deſpectu et diſpendio bonæ valetudinis, eam quæſiſſem—Quis enim me hoc quidem pacto eloquentior vivat? quippe qui nihil *unquam* cogitavi quod eloqui non auderem. Eundem me aio facundiſſimum; nam *omne pecatum* ſemper nefas habui. Eundem diſertiſſimum: quod nullum meum factum vel dictum exter, de quo differe publice non poſſim [b]." What have we then to conclude but that the repreſentation of himſelf in this *fable*, under a debauched character, is entirely feigned? Yet ſtill it would be as abſurd to imagine that a grave and moral philoſopher ſhould chuſe to exhibit himſelf to the public in the odious, and falſe light of a magician and debauchee; and take a pleaſure in dwelling upon the horrors of ſo deteſtable a character, for no other purpoſe than to amuſe and entertain a ſet of diſſolute readers. We muſt needs therefore go a ſtep

[a] His Apology, [b] P. 6.

further,

further, and conclude that he aſſumed it only for the ſake of the GENERAL MORAL, and the better to carry on his allegory; which was, to recommend the MYSTERIES as the certain cure for all the diſorders of the WILL.

This being his end, he was but too much encouraged by the example of the moſt moral of the ancient ſatiriſts, to particularize the various maladies to which he was applying a remedy. Let this, and his only copying what he found in his original author, ſtand for ſome kind of excuſe in a wretched Pagan, as it is the beſt we have, for all the obſcenities with which his fable abounds.

But to proceed with his plan. Having now ſhewn himſelf thoroughly brutalized by his crimes; he goes on to repreſent at large the miſeries of that condition, in a long detail of his miſadventures; in the courſe of which he fell, by turns, under the dominion of every vicious paſſion; though the incidents are chiefly confined to the miſchiefs of unlawful love: And this, with much judgment, as one of the principal ends of the *Myſteries* was to curb and ſubdue this inordinance, which brings more general and laſting miſery upon mankind than all the other. And as it was the great moral of his piece to ſhew *that pure religion* (ſuch as a platonic philoſopher eſteemed pure) *was the only remedy for human corruption*; ſo, to prevent the abuſe or miſtake of this capital principle, he takes care to inform us, *that an attachment to ſuperſtitious and corrupt religion does but plunge the wretched victim into ſtill greater miſeries.* This he finely illuſtrates, in the hiſtory of his adventures with the BEGGING PRIESTS OF CYBELE; whoſe enormities are related in the eighth and ninth books; and whoſe CORRUPT MYSTERIES are intended as a contraſt to the PURE RITES OF ISIS:

With

With which, in a very ſtudied deſcription and encomium he concludes the *Fable*.

In the mean time, matters growing from bad to worſe, and Lucius plunged deeper and deeper in the ſink of vice, his affairs come to a criſis. For this is one great beauty in the conduct of the fable, that every change of ſtation, while he remains a brute, makes his condition ſtill more wretched and deplorable. And being now (in the *ninth* book) about to perpetrate one of the moſt ſhocking enormities; NATURE, though ſo deeply brutalized, REVOLTS; he abhors the idea of his projected crime; he evades his keepers; he flies to the ſea-ſhore; and, in this ſolitude, begins to reflect more ſeriouſly on his loſt condition. This is finely imagined; for we often ſee men, even after a whole life of horrors, come ſuddenly to themſelves on the hideous aſpect of ſome monſter-vice too frightful even for an hardened conſcience to endure. Nor is it with leſs judgment that the author makes theſe beginnings of reformation confirmed by ſolitude; when the unhappy victim of pleaſure hath broken looſe from the companions and partakers of his follies.

And now, a more intimate acquaintance of his hopeleſs ſtate obliges him to fly to heaven for relief. The MOON is in full ſplendour; and the awful ſilence of the night inſpires him with ſentiments of religion.—"Video præmicantis Lunæ "candore nimio completum orbem,—nactusque "opacæ noctis ſilentioſa ſecreta, certus etiam ſummatem Deam præcipua majeſtate pollere, resque "prorſus humanas ipſius regi *providentia*, etc [c]. He then purifies himſelf in the manner preſcribed by Pythagoras [d]; the philoſopher moſt addicted to *ini-*

[c] P. 238.

[d] —meque protinus, purificandi ſtudio, marino lavacro trado:

tiations of all the early sages; as Apuleius, of all the later; and so makes his prayer to the *Moon* or ISIS; invoking her by her several names of the *Eleusinian Ceres*, the *celestial Venus*, *Diana* and *Proserpine*: when betaking himself to repose, she appears to him in a dream [e], under that SHINING IMAGE so much spoken of by the *Mystics*, as representing the divine nature in general [f]. "Necdum satis connive-
"ram: et ecce pelago medio, venerandos Diis
"etiam vultus attollens, emergit *divina facies*, ac
"dehinc paulatim toto corpore PER LUCIDUM SI-
"MULACRUM, excusso pelago, ante me constitisse
"visum est. Ejus mirandam speciem ad vos etiam
"referre connitar—Corona multiformis, variis flo-
"ribus sublimem distinxerat verticem: cujus me-
"dia quidem super fronte *plana rotunditas*, candi-
"dum lumen emicabat. Dextra lævaque sulcis
"*insurgentium viperarum* cohibita, *spicis* etiam *Ce-*
"*realibus* desuper porrectis.—Et quæ longè longe-
"que etiam meum confutabat obtutum, *palla* ni-
"gerrima, splendescens atro nitore; quæ circum
"circa remeans,—per intextam extremitatem, et
"in ipsa oræ planitie, *stellæ* dispersæ coruisca-
"bant: earumque media semestris Luna flammeos
"spirabat ignes.—Dextera quidem ferebat *æreum*

septiesque submerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum praecipue religioni aptissimum divinus ille *Pythagoras* prodidit—p. 238.

[e] Artemidorus says, that for a man to dream that *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, or *Bacchus* appears to him, betokens some extraordinary good fortune to happen to him. Δημήτηρ ἢ Κόρη ἢ ὁ λεγόμενος Ἴακχος τοῖς μεμυημένοις ταῖς θεαῖς ἀγαθόν τι ἢ ἐ τὸ τύχον ἐσόμενον σημαίνουσι. l. iv. c. 44.. This popular divination by dreams was apparently founded on the common opinion of the advantages attending initiation into the Mysteries. The ancient *Onirocritics* were not founded on the arbitrary fancies of the impostors who professed that art, but on the customs and superstitions of the times, and with a principal reference to the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS and MYSTERIES. See B. iv. Sect. 4.

[f] See above p. 272. note (9.)

"*crepi-*

" *crepitaculum:* cujus per anguſtam laminam in mo-
" dum balthei recurvatam, trajectæ mediæ paucæ
" virgulæ, criſpante brachio tergeminos jactus, red-
" debant, argutum ſonitum [g]." Theſe ſeveral ſymbolic attributes, the *lucid round*, the *ſnakes*, the *ears of corn*, and the *ſiſtrum*, repreſent the tutelar Deities of the *Hecatæan*, *Bacchic*, *Eluſinian* and *Iſiac* Mysteries. That is, the myſtic rites in general; for whoſe ſake the allegory was invented. As the black Palla in which ſhe is wrapped, embroidered with a ſilver-moon, and ſtars, denotes the time, in which the Myſteries were celebrated, namely the dead of night; which was ſo conſtant and inſeparable a circumſtance, that the author calls *initiation*, noctis societas.

In her ſpeech to Lucius ſhe gives this extraordinary account of herſelf, " En aſſum, tuis commota
" Lucî precibus, rerum natura parens, ele-
" mentorum omnium Domina, ſæculorum proge-
" nies initialis, Summa numinum, Regina manium,
" Prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uni-
" formis: quæ cœli luminoſa culmina, maris ſa-
" lubria flamina, inferorum deplorata ſilentia nu-
" tibus meis diſpenſo. Cujus numen unicum,
" multiformi ſpecie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo
" totus veneratur orbis.—priſcaque doctrina pol-
" lentes Ægyptii, cerimoniis me prorſus pro-
" priis percolentes, appellant vero nomine regi-
" nam Isidem [h]." This was exactly adapted to the deſign of the *Myſteries*; and preparatory to the communication of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ. It had likewiſe this further uſe, to patch up and recommend the pagan Religions; by ſhewing that their *Polytheiſm* conſiſted in nothing elſe than in giving the ſupreme God various names, merely expreſſive of

[g] P. 239—40. [h] P. 241.

his

his various ATTRIBUTES. This was the faſhionable colouring, which, after the appearance of Chriſtianity, the advocates of paganiſm employed to blanch their IDOLATRY. I will only obſerve further that the words, *Ægyptii cerimoniis me prorſus propriis percolentes*, inſinuate, what was true, that all *Myſterious* worſhip came *firſt* from *Ægypt*; this people having penetrated furtheſt into the nature of the Gods: As the calling HER, who repreſents the Myſteries in general, *rerum natura parens*, ſhews plainly what were the ἀπόῤῥητα of them all.

Parent, NATURE then reveals to Lucius the means of his recovery. Her feſtival was on the following day; when there was to be a proceſſion of her votaries. The prieſt who led it up, would have a chaplet of roſes in his hand, which had the virtue to reſtore him to his former ſhape. But as breaking through a habit of vice is, of all things, the moſt difficult; ſhe adds encouragements to her promiſes, "nec quidquam rerum mearum reformides, "ut arduum. Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi "venio, ſimul et ibi *præſens*, quæ ſunt conſequentia "ſacerdoti meo per quietem facienda præcipio [i]." Alluding to what was taught in the *Myſteries*, that the *aſſiſtance of Heaven* was always preſent to ſecond the efforts of virtue. But in return for the favour of releaſing him from his brutal ſhape, i. e. of reforming his manners by *initiation*, ſhe tells him ſhe expected the ſervice of his whole life; And this, the *Myſteries* required: Nor ſhould her ſervice go unrewarded, for he ſhould have a place in Elyſium hereafter; And this, too, the *Myſteries* promiſed. "Plane memineris, et penita mente conditum ſem-"per tenebis, *mihi reliqua vitæ tuæ curricula*, ad "uſque terminos ultimi ſpiritus *vadata*. Nec inju-

[i] P. 242.

"rium,

" rium, cujus beneficio redieris ad homines ei to-
" tum debere quod vives. Vives autem *beatus*,
" vives, in mea tutela, *gloriosus*: et cum spatium
" seculi tui permensus ad inferos demearis; ibi
" quoque in ipso subterraneo semirotundo, me,
" quam vides Acherontis tenebris interlucentem,
" stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, CAMPOS ELY-
" SIOS *incolens ipse*, tibi propitiam frequens ado-
" rabis [k]."

Lucius is at length confirmed in his resolution of aspiring to a life of virtue. And on this change of his dispositions, and entire conquest of his passions, the author finely represents all nature as putting on a new face of chearfulness and gaiety. " Tanta
" hilaritudine præter peculiarem meam gestire mihi
" cuncta videbantur; ut pecua etiam cujuscemodi,
" et totas domos, et ipsum diem serena facie gau-
" dere sentirem [l]." And to enjoy Nature, in these her best conditions, was the boasted privilege of the *Initiated*, as we may see from a Chorus in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes[m].

And now the procession, in honour of *Isis*, begins. Where by the way, we must observe, that the *two first days* of the celebration of the *Eleusinian Mysteries* are plainly described: the one called ΑΓΥΡΜΟΣ, from the multitude assembled; the other ΑΑΑΣΕ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ, from the procession made to the sea-shore. " Tunc influunt *Turbæ* sacris divinis
" initiatæ [n]—jam *ripam maris* proximamus [o]." The priest or hierophant of the rites leads up the train of the initiated with a garland of roses in his hand. Lucius approaches, devours the roses, and is, accord-

[k] P. 242. [l] P. 243.

[m] Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος
Καὶ φέγγος ἱλαρόν ἐστιν
Ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ'—Act. i.

[n] P. 245. [o] P. 249.

ing

ing to the promiſe of the goddeſs, reſtored to his natural form: by which, as we have ſaid, no more was meant than a change of manners from vice to virtue. And this the author plainly intimates by making the Goddeſs thus addreſs him under his brutal from, "peſſimæ mihique deteſtabilis jamdu- "dum beluæ iſtius corio te protinus exue[p]." For an Aſs was ſo far from being deteſtable, that it was employed in the celebration of her rites; and was ever found in the retinue of Oſiris or Bacchus. The garland plainly repreſents that which the aſpirants were crowned with at their *initiation*; juſt as the virtue of the roſes deſigns the *Myſteries*. At his transformation he had been told, that *roſes* were to reſtore him to humanity: ſo that amid' all his adventures, he had ſtill this remedy in view. Particularly in a circumſtance of great diſtreſs, he met with a ſpecies of them called *roſa laurea*; but on examining it's properties, he found that, inſtead of a reſtorative, it was a deadly poiſon to all kind of cattle — "quarum cuncto pecori cibus lethalis "eſt." Who can doubt then, but by this *roſe-laurel* was meant all *debauched, magical, and corrupt Myſteries*, ſuch as thoſe of the SYRIAN GODDESS, whoſe miniſters he repreſents in ſo abominable a light[q]; in oppoſition to what he calls "ſobriæ re- "ligionis obſervatio: and in thoſe rites, *initiation* was ſo far from promoting a life of virtue, that it plunged the deluded wretches into ſtill greater miſeries. Theſe emblematic *roſes* were not of our author's invention. For the ROSE, amongſt the ancients, was a ſymbol of SILENCE, the requiſite quality of the *Initiated*. And therefore the ſtatues of Iſis or Diana Multimammea, (images conſecrated to the uſe of the Myſteries,) are crowned with chaplets of roſes.

[p] P. 242. [q] L. viii. p. 174.

Our

Our author proceeds to tell us, that the people wondered at this inſtantaneous metamorphoſis. Populi mirantur, *religioſi venerantur* tam evidentem maximi numinis potentiam—et *facilitatem reformationis*[r]. For the Myſteries boaſted the power of giving a ſudden and entire change to the mind and affections. And the advocates of paganiſm againſt Chriſtianity uſed to oppoſe this boaſt to the real and miraculous efficacy of Grace.

As ſoon as Lucius had recovered the integrity of his nature by *initiation*, the Prieſt covers him, naked as he was, with a LINEN garment[s]. A habit always beſtowed upon the aſpirant, on his admiſſion to the Myſteries; the *rationale* of which, Apuleius himſelf gives us in his apology [t].

When all was over, the prieſt accoſts his penitent in the following manner. "Multis et va-
" riis exantlatis laboribus, magniſque Fortunæ tem-
" peſtatibus, et maximis actus procellis, ad por-
" tum quietis et *aram Miſericordiæ* tandem, Luci
" veniſti: nec tibi natales, ac ne dignitas quidem
" vel ipſa, qua flores, uſquam doctrina profuit:
" ſed lubrico virentis ætatulæ, *ad ſerviles delapſus*
" *voluptates*, CURIOSITATIS improſperæ finiſtrum
" præmium reportaſti. Sed utrinque Fortunæ cæci-
" tas dum te peſſimis periculis diſcrutiat, *ad religio-*
" *ſam iſtam habitudinem* improvida produxit mali-
" tia. Eat nunc, et ſummo furore ſæviat, et cru-

[r] P. 247,—9.

[s] Sed ſacerdos, utcumque *divino monitu cognitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis*, quamquam et ipſe inſigni permotus miraculo, nutu ſignificato prius præcipit, tegendo mihi LINTEAM dari LACINIAM, p. 248.

[t] *Lana* ſegniſſimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta, jam inde Orphei et Pythagoræ ſcitis, profanus veſtitus eſt. Sed enim mundiſſima LINI ſeges, inter optimas fruges terræ exorta non modo *indutui et amictui ſanctiſſimis Ægyptiorum ſacerdotibus*, ſed opertui quoque in *rebus ſacris* uſurpatur. *Apol.* p. 64.

" delitati

" delitati ſuæ materiam quærat aliam. Nam in " eorum vitas, *quorum ſibi ſervitium Deæ noſtræ* " *majeſtas vindicavit, non habet locum caſus infeſtus.* " Quid latrones, quid feræ, quid ſervitium, quid " aſperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocæ, quid " metus mortis quotidianæ nefariæ Fortunæ pro- " fuit? in tutelam jam receptus es FORTUNÆ, " *ſed* VIDENTIS; *quæſuæ lucis ſplendore ceteros etiam* " *deos illuminat.* Sume jam vultum lætiorem, *can-* " *dido iſto habitu tuo* congruentem; comitare pom- " pam Deæ SOSPITATRICIS innovanti gradu; VIDE- " ANT IRRELIGIOSI: VIDEANT, ET ERROREM " SUUM RECOGNOSCANT. En ecce priſtinis ærumnis " abſolutus, ISIDIS *magnæ* PROVIDENTIA *gaudens* " *Lucius, de ſua fortuna triumphat* [y].

Here the MORAL OF THE FABLE is delivered in plain terms; and, in this *moral*, all we have advanced, concerning the purpoſe of the work, fully confirmed. It is expreſly declared, that VICE and inordinate CURIOSITY were the cauſes of Lucius's diſaſters; from which the only relief was INITIATION into the MYSTERIES. Whereby the author would inſinuate, that nothing was more abhorrent from thoſe holy rites than DEBAUCHERY and MAGIC; the two enormities they were then commonly ſuſpected to encourage.

It hath been obſerved above, that, by Lucius's return to his proper form, was meant his *initiation*; and accordingly, that return is called, (as *initiation* was,) *the being born again*—ut RENATVS quodammodo, and—ſua providentia quodammodo RENATOS; but this was only to the LESSER, not the GREATER *myſteries*. The firſt was to *purify* the mind: hence it was called by the Ancients, Κακίας ἀφαίρεσιν, *a ſeparation from evil:* the *ſecond* was to

[y] P. 248—9.

enlighten it, when purified, and to bring it to the knowledge of divine ſecrets, as Hierocles ſpeaks, ἔπειτα ἤτω ἐπιβάλλει τῇ τῶν θειοτέρων γνώσει. Hence they named the one ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΝ, and the other ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ, PURIFICATION and PERFECTION. The *firſt* is here repreſented in the incident of Lucius's being reſtored to humanity by the uſe of *roſes:* The *ſecond*, as the matter of chief importance, the author treats more circumſtantially.

He begins with making the prieſt take occaſion, from the benefit already received, to preſs Lucius to enter into the GREATER *myſteries* of Iſis. "Quo tibi "tamen tutior ſis, atque munitior; da nomen huic "*ſanctæ militiæ*, cujus olim ſacramento etiam læ- "taberis; teque jam nunc obſequio religionis no- "ſtræ dedica, et miniſterii jugum ſubi voluntari- "um. *Nam, cum cœperis Deæ ſervire, tunc magis* "*ſenties fructum tuæ libertatis*[w]:" But at the ſame time makes him inform the Candidate, that nothing was to be precipitated: for that not only many previous rites and ceremonies, concerning religious diet, and abſtinence from prophane food, were to be obſerved; but that the Aſpirants to theſe higher myſteries were to wait for A CALL. "Quippe cum aviditati "contumaciæque ſummè cavere, et utramque cul- "pam vitare, ac neque vocatus morari, nec non "juſſus feſtinare deberem. Nec tamen eſſe quem- "quam de ſuo numero tam perditæ mentis, vel "immo deſtinatæ mortis, qui non ſibi quoque ſe- "orſum, jubente Domina, temerarium atque ſacrile- "gum audeat miniſterium ſubire, noxamque le- "talem contrahere. Nam et inferûm clauſtra, et "ſalutis tutelam in Deæ manu poſita ipſamque tra- "ditionem ad inſtar voluntariæ mortis et præca- "riæ ſalutis celebrari[x]." Accordingly, he is ini-

[w] P. 249. [x] P. 253—4.

tiated

tiated into the GREATER MYSTERIES. The ceremony is deſcribed at large[y]; and we find it to agree exactly with what, we have ſhewn, other ancient writers more profeſſedly deliver concerning it.

The author, by the doubts and apprehenſions which retarded his *initiation*, firſt gives us to underſtand, that the higheſt degree of ſanctity was required of thoſe who entered into the *myſteries*.—"At ego, quamquam cupienti voluntate prædi-"tus, tamen religioſa formidine retinebar. Quod "enim ſedulo percontaveram, *difficile religionis ob-*"*ſequium, et caſtimoniorum abſtinentiam ſatis arduam*, "*cautoque circumſpectu vitam, quæ multis caſibus* "*ſubjacet, eſſe muniendam*[z]." Theſe difficulties now ſurmounted, he is *initiated* with the accuſtomed ceremonies. He then makes his prayer, in which the grand ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ of the *myſteries* is ſtill [a] more plainly referred to. "Tu quidem ſancta "et humani generis SOSPITATRIX perpetua, ſemper "fovendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris "affectionem miſerorum caſibus tribuis.—TE SU-"PERI COLUNT; OBSERVANT INFERI; TU ROTAS "ORBEM; LUMINAS SOLEM; REGIS MUNDUM; CAL-"CAS TARTARUM; TIBI RESPONDENT SIDERA [b]; "GAUDENT LUMINA; REDEUNT TEMPORA; SERVI-"UNT ELEMENTA: TUO NUTU SPIRANT FLAMINA; "NUTRIUNTUR NUBILA; GERMINANT SEMINA; "CRESCUNT GERMINA; TUAM MAJESTATEM PER-"HORRESCUNT AVES COELO MEANTES; FERÆ

[y] P. 255—6—7. [z] P. 252.

[a] See the quotation above.—*Fortunæ Videntis, quæ ſuæ lucis ſplendore ceteros etiam Deos illuminat.*

[b] *Reſpondent ſidera.* This, I ſuppoſe, relates to the *muſic of the ſpheres*. The image is noble and ſublime. It is taken from the *conſent* in the lyre, to anſwer to, and obey the hand of the Maſter who had put them into tune.

" MONTIBUS ERRANTES; SERPENTES SOLO LATEN-
" TES; BELUÆ PONTO NATANTES [c]."

The affair thus over, and the honour attendant on *initiation* into the *greater myſteries* being marked out in the words—*cominabar ſacrarium*; *totæ civitati notus ac conſpicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis*[d]; the author, in the next place, takes occaſion, agreably to his real practice and opinions, to recommend a *multiplicity of initiations*. He tells us how *Iſis* counſelled him to enter into the *myſteries* of *Oſiris*: how, after that ſhe invited him to a third *initiation*: and then rewarded him for his accumulated piety with an abundance of temporal bleſſings.

All this conſidered, we can no longer doubt but that the true deſign of his work was to recommend INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES, IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW RELIGION. We ſee the cataſtrophe of the piece, the whole *Eleventh Book*, entirely taken up with it; and compoſed with the greateſt ſerioufneſs and ſuperſtition.

And, ſurely, nothing could be better conceived, to recommend the *myſteries*, than the idea of ſuch a plan; or better contrived than his execution of it. In which, he omits no circumſtance that might be plauſibly oppoſed to Chriſtianity; or that might be recommended, with advantage, to the Magiſtrate's favour: as where he tells us, that in theſe rites, *they prayed for the proſperity of all orders in the* STATE--- " fauſta vota præfatus principi magno, " ſenatuique et equiti, totique populo romano."

This interpretation will throw new light on every part of the GOLDEN ASS. But I have been ſo long upon the ſubject, that I have only time to give one inſtance; and this, chiefly becauſe it re-

[c] P. 255—8. [d] P. 249.

flects

flects it back again on the general interpretation of the Fable.

In the fifth and ſixth books is the long epiſode of CUPID and PSYCHE[e]; viſibly allegorical throughout; and entirely foreign to all the reſt of the work, conſidered as a mere Mileſian fable; but very applicable to the writer's purpoſe, if he had that moral to inculcate which we have here aſſigned him.

There was no man, though he regarded the *golden Aſs* as a thing of mere amuſement, but ſaw that the ſtory of *Cupid* and *Pſyche* was a *philoſophic allegory of the progreſs of the ſoul to perfection, in the poſſeſſion of divine love and the reward of immortality.* Now we have ſhewn at large, that the profeſſed end of the *myſteries* was to reſtore the ſoul to it's *original rectitude*, and to encourage good men with the promiſes of *happineſs in another life.* The fable, therefore, of *Cupid and Pſyche*, in the *fifth* and *ſixth* books, was the fineſt and moſt artfull preparative for the ſubject of the *eleventh*, which treats of the *myſteries.*

But if we look more nearly into this beautiful fable, we ſhall find that, beſides it's *general* purpoſe, it has one more *particular.* We have obſerved that the *corrupt ſtate* of the *myſteries*, in the time of Apuleius, was one principal reaſon of his undertaking their apology. Theſe corruptions were of two kinds, *debaucheries* and *magic.* Their *debaucheries* have been taken notice of above. Their

[e] The Amour of Cupid and Pſyche was a ſubject which lay in common amongſt the Platonic writers. And every one faſhioned this agreeable fiction according to the doctrines he had to convey under it. By this means it could not but become famous. The remaining monuments of ancient ſculpture convince us that it was very famous; in which, nothing is ſo common as the figures of Cupid and Pſyche in the various circumſtances of their adventures.

MAGIC was of three ſorts: 1. The Magic of invocation or NECROMANCY. 2. The Magic of transformation or METAMORPHOSIS. 3. And the Magic of divine communication under a viſible appearance or THEÜRGY. The SHEWS of the *myſteries* ſeem to have given birth to the firſt: The DOCTRINE of the *Metempſychoſis* taught therein, to the ſecond: and the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ concerning the divine nature, to the third. The abomination of the *two firſt* ſorts was ſeen, by all, and frankly given up as criminal: but the fanatic *Platoniſts* and *Pythagoreans* of the latter ages, eſpouſing the *third*, occaſioned it to be held in credit and reverence. So that, as Heliodorus tells us, the Egyptian prieſts, (between whoſe Philoſophy and fanatic Platoniſm, there was at this time a kind of coalition[f]) affected to diſtinguiſh between the magic of *Necromancy* and the magic of *Theürgy*; accounting the firſt infamous and wicked; but the laſt very fair, and even commendable. For now both thoſe Fanatics had their PHILOSOPHIC MYSTERIES; the Rites of which conſiſted in the practice of this THEÜRGIC MAGIC. Theſe were the *Myſteries*, to obſerve it by the way, of which the emperor Julian was ſo fond, that he placed his principal felicity, (as the Chriſtians did his principal crime) in their celebration. But our author who had imbibed his platoniſm, not at the muddy ſtreams of thoſe late Enthuſiaſts, but at the pure fountain-head of the Academy itſelf, well underſtood how much this ſuperſtition, with all it's plauſible pretences, had polluted the *Myſteries*; and, therefore, as in the courſe of the adventures of his *golden Aſs*, he had ſtigmatized the two other kinds of *magic*, he compoſed this celebrated tale (hitherto ſo little underſtood) to expoſe the magic of *Theürgy*. It is,

[f] See Book iii. Sect. iv. towards the end.

as we ſaid, *a philoſophic allegory of the progreſs of the ſoul to perfection, in the poſſeſſion of divine love and the reward of immortality*, delivered in the adventures of *Pſyche*, or the *Soul:* whoſe various labours and traverſes in this *progreſs*, are all repreſented as the effects of her indiſcreet paſſion for that ſpecies of magic called THEÜRGY.

To underſtand this, we muſt obſerve, that the enthuſiaſtic Platoniſts, in their purſuit of the Supreme Good, the *Union with the Deity*, made the completion and perfection of it to conſiſt in the *Theürgic* Viſion of the Αυτοπτον Αγαλμα or the *ſelf ſeen image*, i. e. ſeen by the ſplendour of it's own light. Now the ſtory tells us, there were three Siſters, the youngeſt of whom was called PSYCHE; by which we are to underſtand, the *three peripatetic ſouls*, the *ſenſitive*, the *animal*, and the *rational*; or in other words, *ſenſe*, *appetite*, and *reaſon:* that the beauty of *Pſyche* was ſo divine, that men forſook the altars of the gods to follow and worſhip her, according to the ancient aphoriſm,

Nullum Numen abeſt, ſi ſit PRUDENTIA—

She is contracted to, and poſſeſſes the *celeſtial Cupid* or DIVINE LOVE; who cohabits with her INVISIBLY, amidſt all kinds of pleaſures and delights. In the mean time her Siſters, envious of her ſuperior enjoyments, take advantage of the God's *inviſibility* to perplex her with a thouſand doubts and ſcruples; which end in exciting her *curioſity* to get a SIGHT of her lover. By which the author ſeems to inſinuate that they are the irregular paſſions and appetites which ſtir up men's curioſity to this ſpecies of *magic*, the *Theürgic* VISION. *Pſyche* is deluded by them, and againſt the expreſs injunction of the god, who calls it SACRILEGA CURIOSITAS, attempts this *forbidden ſight*. She ſucceeds, and is undone. *Divine love* for-

ſakes her: the ſcenes of pleaſure vaniſh: and ſhe finds herſelf forlorn and abandoned; ſurrounded with miſeries, and purſued with the vengeance of Heaven. In this diſtreſs ſhe comes to the Temples of Ceres and Juno, and ſeeks protection of thoſe Deities; by which is meant, the having recourſe to their *Myſteries*, againſt the evils and diſaſters of life; as is plainly marked by the reaſon given for her application—" nec ullam vel dubiam spei " melioris viam volens omittere [g].---They both deny admittance to her; intimating that the *purer myſteries* diſcouraged all kind of *magic*, even the moſt ſpecious. In a word, after a long and ſevere repentance and penance, in which the author ſeems to have ſhadowed the trials and labours undergone by the Aſpirants to the *Myſteries*, ſhe is pardoned and reſtored to the favour of Heaven. She is put again into poſſeſſion of *Divine Love*, and rewarded with the prerogative of *Immortality*.

There are many other circumſtances in this fine allegory equally ſerving to the end here explained: as there are others which allude to divers beautiful platonic notions, foreign to the preſent diſcourſe. It is enough that we have pointed to it's chief and peculiar purpoſe; which it was impoſſible to ſee while the nature and deſign of the whole fable lay undiſcovered.

But now perhaps it may be ſaid, " that all this is very well. An allegory is here found for the golden ass, which, it muſt be owned, fits the fable. But ſtill it may be aſked, Was it indeed made for it? Did the author write the tale for the moral; or did the Critic find the moral for the tale? For an allegory may be drawn from almoſt any ſtory: and they have been often made for authors

[g] P. 112.

who

who never thought of them. Nay, when a rage of allegorizing happens to prevail, as it did a century or two ago, the Author himſelf will be tempted or obliged, as well as the Commentator, to encourage this deluſion. *Arioſto* and *Taſſo*, writers of the higheſt reputation, one of whom compoſed after the *Gothic* Romances, as the other did from the *Claſſic*, without ever concerning themſelves with any other moral than what the natural circumſtances of the fable conveyed; yet, to ſecure the ſucceſs of their works, they ſubmitted, in compliance to faſhion and falſe taſte, to the ridiculous drudgery of inventing a kind of poſthumous allegory, and ſometimes more than one; that the reader himſelf might ſeaſon their fables to his own taſte. As this has been the caſe, To ſhew that I neither impoſe upon myſelf nor others, I have reſerved the Author's own declaration of his having an *allegoric meaning*, for the laſt confirmation of my ſyſtem. It is in theſe words,

At ego tibi ſermone iſto Mileſio
Varias fabulas conſeram, aureſque tuas
Benevolas lepido ſuſurro permulceam;
Modo ſi PAPYRUM ÆGYPTIAM ARGUTIA
NILOTICI CALAMI INSCRIPTAM, non ſpreveris
Inſpicere [h] ———

A direct inſinuation of it's being replete with the profound *Ægyptian wiſdom*; of which, that Nation, by the invention of the *Myſteries*, had conveyed ſo conſiderable a part to the *Greeks*.

Before I totally diſmiſs this matter it may not be improper to obſerve, that both VIRGIL, and, APULEIUS have repreſented the genuine MYSTE-

[h] In init. Fab.

RIES, as Rites of perfect ſanctity and purity; and recommended only ſuch to their Countrymen; while they expoſe impure and impious rites to the public averſion; for it was their purpoſe to ſtigmatize the reigning Corruptions and to recommend the ancient Sanctity. On the contrary, a man attached by his office to the recommendation of the *Myſteries*, as then practiſed, was to do the beſt he could, when deprived of the benefit of this diſtinction; and was to endeavour to give fair colours to the fouleſt things. This was the caſe of JAMBLICHUS. His friend *Porphyry* had ſome ſcruples on this head. He doubts whether thoſe Rites could come from the Gods, which admitted ſuch a mixture of lewdneſs and impurity. Such a mixture *Jamblichus* confeſſes; but, at the ſame time, endeavours to account for their divine original, by ſhewing, that they are only the emblems of natural truths; or a kind of moral purgation of the inordinate paſſions [i]. You will ſay, he might have given a better anſwer; That they were modern abuſes and corruptions. He aſks your pardon for that. Such a confeſſion would have been condemning his own Platonic fanaticiſm; that very fanaticiſm which had brought in theſe abominations. He was reduced therefore to the neceſſity of admitting, that they were no after-corruptions, but coeval with the Rites themſelves. And this admiſſion of ſo learned a Hierophant, is, as far as I am able to collect, the only ſupport which any one can have for ſaying, that the Myſteries were impure and abominable even from their firſt inſtitution.

Hitherto we have conſidered the legiſlator's care in perpetuating the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. And if I have been longer than ordinary on this

[i] De myſteriis, Sect. i. cap. xi.

head,

head, my excuſe is, that the topic was new [k], and the doctrine itſelf, which is the main ſubject of the preſent inquiry, much intereſted in it.

A very remarkable circumſtance, (for which we are indebted to the obſervation of modern travellers,) may convince us, that Rulers and Governors cultivated the belief of this doctrine with a more than common aſſiduity. Many barbarous nations have been diſcovered in theſe later times, which, in the diſtractions of Government, and tranſmigrations of People, have, it is probable, fallen from a *civilized* to a *ſavage* ſtate of life. Theſe are found to have little or no knowledge of a God, or obſervance of Religion. And yet, which is a ſurpriſing paradox, they ſtill retain the belief and expectation of a FUTURE STATE. A wonder to be accounted for no other way than by what hath been ſaid above of the Legiſlator's principal concern for the ſupport of this Doctrine; and of the deep root, which by it's agreeable nature, it ſtrikes into the Mind, wherever it has been once received. So that though, as hath been obſerved, *no Religion ever exiſted without the doctrine of a Future State*, yet the doctrine of a Future State hath, it ſeems, ſometimes exiſted without a Religion.

[k] A well-known writer, who had long and ſcurrilouſly railed at the author of the D. L. in a number of miſerable pamphlets, hath at length thought fit in a voluminous work, called *Chronological antiquities*, to borrow without any acknowledgement from this book, all he had to give the public, (which by the engagement of his *ſubſcription* was not a little) concerning the pagan MYSTERIES; and much, concerning the HIEROGLYPHICS and *origine of idolatry*. But this is the common practice of ſuch writers; and is only mentioned here to ſhew the reader to what claſs they belong.

The end of the firſt Part of the firſt Volume.

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